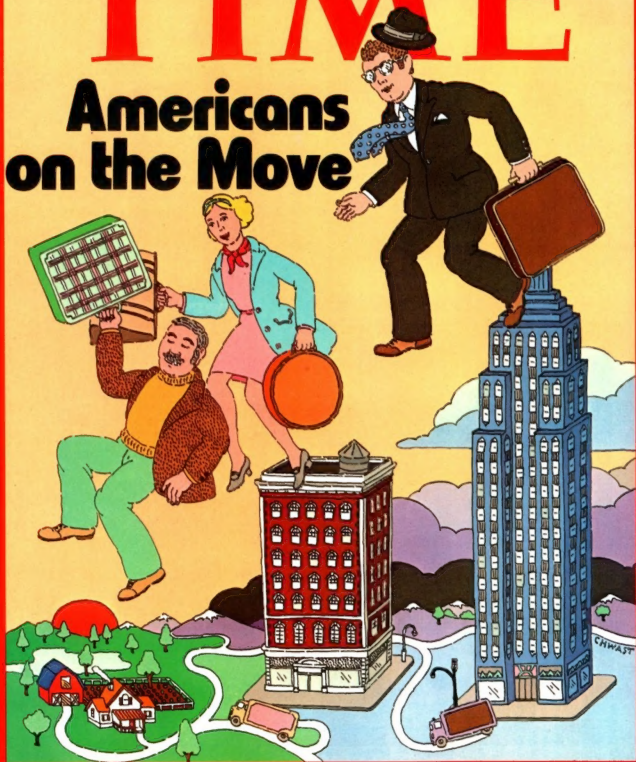


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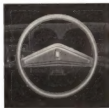


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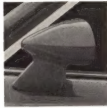
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Payola, Golden Eggs and Greed

To the Editors:

A big bravo to those business executives who bring in profitable orders from abroad [Feb. 23]. And if the bribe is tacked onto the selling price, further kudos are in order.

I'll opt for high employment, growth and prosperity any day.

William T. Cuddy Jr.
Calabasas, Calif.

Everyone thinks he can get away with anything. If some of those conspirators went to jail and spent the full sentence there, the world might not have as much moral corruption.

Steven Kuensting
St. Louis

Payola is the name of the game in business. The company that doesn't

It is only one step from awareness of Lockheed's self-serving to questioning whether free-market advocates have Adam Smith in mind or the lucrative-ness of their veiled misdeeds.

Kenneth Cooley
Berkeley, Calif.

What's all this "scandal" fussing about? Bribery has been a common (and time-honored) practice as far back as Marco Polo and even before that. I find it surprising that Americans still cling to illusions of innocence after the years of Viet Nam, Watergate and intelligence investigations. Won't this country ever grow up and realize there is rottenness in the world?

Clay Rokeys
St. Paul

News of bribery causes no surprise here in Brazil, where "special payment arrangements" are routine in all deals with government departments. In Rome, you must do as the Romans. Your multinationals are right.

Paulo Moreira Dias
Rio de Janeiro

Thanks for telling us about the graft in Colombia. Now we want the names of the grafters for our tribunals.

Alfredo Vanegas Montoya
Medellin, Colombia

What is needed now is a bipartisan congressional committee headed by individuals whose honesty is unquestioned, like Senators Hugh Scott and Hubert Humphrey, to ferret out those in Congress whose campaigns have received illegal corporate financing.

Penny K. Alden
Key Biscayne, Fla.

When Woman Is Like Man

Re "Culture and the Curse" [Feb. 23]: someone told me that when a woman is premenstrual, her hormone level is similar to the hormone level of a man. Which means that during her irritable days a woman may act the way men act all the time. It makes sense.

Mildred Kavanagh
Olympia, Wash.

Just as we are not inferior to men because we menstruate, neither are we superior. Women should accept it and forget it. It's not that big a deal.

Janice Torbet
Bryn Mawr, Pa.

I wish someone would find a "taboo-hut" where a handful of sick feminists could be detailed permanently. While

they could massage backs, sip tea, sniff blood and celebrate their reclaimed menses, the rest of us could go about as usual and do what most women have been doing for thousands of years: define for ourselves how we feel about it.

Lotti S. Tobler
Shaftsbury, Vt.

I like the idea of a hormonal cycle that enables me to predict when I'm going to feel down. Think of the advantage to a President: summit meetings could be scheduled only on the up days. Down days could be reserved for the CIA cleanup.

Margie Townsend
Arlington, Texas

Paula Weidger implies that Jewish mothers pass on "self-hatred and worthlessness" by slapping the face of the daughter at the onset of menstruation. Actually, this practice, part of a rich folklore, is designed to restore color (blood) to the cheeks of the menstruating girl and has nothing to do with self-deprecating, debasing or shameful beliefs.

Dr. Michael G. Axelrod
Amy Snyder Axelrod
Shireport, La.

I swear that I never took advantage of menstruation to keep any woman from equal status. Frankly, I find this dabbling in one's secretions, excretions or exudations in the name of self-knowledge and dignity unproductive and unnecessary. Messy even.

William Plank
Billings, Mont.

Publish a List

Angola is now all but taken over [Feb. 23]. The U.S. should publish a list of the countries that would be defended by us against Communist aggression. The remaining countries could then be taken over by the Communists without suffering the senseless wastes of war.

Ben H. Carnell
Colonel, U.S.A.F.
A.P.O., N.Y.

Those who view America's decision not to fight in Angola as cowardice or lack of commitment are those who persist in measuring greatness with a military yardstick. For once we have exhibited the courage, the moral strength to keep ourselves out of a conflict in which we have no legitimate interest. Let the world judge who the imperialistic warmongers are now.

Gary Hamel
Berrien Springs, Mich.

Nobody Shoots Santa

Why are journalists regarding Nixon's trip to China [Feb. 16] as a mystery? Nixon will emerge as a lobbyist for China to plug for such things as "most favored nation" status, huge loans



"bribe" its customers in one way or another is probably a statistic in bankruptcy court.

Ronald G. Birnback
New York City

The profit motive is the catalyst of our free-enterprise system. It "leads us into temptation," but the system corrects itself. Let's not knock "the goose that laid the golden egg" too hard, or we will end up with a dead goose on our hands.

Glenn Wm. Simmons
Atlanta

I was raised under the impression that capitalism was a system of the people, by the people and for the people. The greed and graft demonstrated by Lockheed and other corporate giants has led me to believe that they have one overriding ambition: to take from the people and from the people and from the people.

Conrad J. Buehler
Fremont, Ind.



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I wonder why he needed all those Secret Service men on the trip. Nobody shoots at Santa Claus.

Leo Leslie
Waynesville, N.C.

While you scorn former President Nixon at home, he is honored abroad as the able statesman he was (and is).

Carlos A. Grieco
Buenos Aires

Why Speer Was Spared

In the review of Albert Speer's new book *Spandau: The Secret Diaries* (Feb. 23), Stefan Kanfer writes: "Speer, who displayed no discernible sympathy for workers during the '30s and '40s, grows hungry."

Having done extensive research in the Nuremberg Trial documents, I tend to concur with Speer that he did numerous things for the workers. He increased rations, provided clothing and relieved overcrowding. This was one of the reasons his life was spared.

John Phillip Dixon
Clawson, Mich.

Kanfer mentions that "some 5 million slave laborers" were "employed" by Speer and calls his Russian captors "harsh and arbitrary." For stealing a

cauliflower, Speer gets one week of solitary confinement.

My uncle, Leo Kohn, was one of Speer's "employees." For picking up a carrot to ease his hunger, he did not get one week of solitary confinement but was beaten to death with a shovel.

Samuel Kohn
Canoga Park, Calif.

Question of Taste

Your reviewer charges me with bad taste in using Dr. Josef Mengele, late of Auschwitz, as the villain of my novel *The Boys from Brazil* (Feb. 23). I must concede that what I have done is almost on a par with putting a would-be assassin on the cover of a national magazine or publishing a list of a dead president's rumored mistresses.

Ira Levin
New York City

The Hartman Addiction

Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman (Feb. 23)—the funniest show on the tube, the cultural and emotional mish-mash of life in our bizarre and beloved America. I am addicted to *Mary Hartman* just as I am to eavesdropping on conversations in public transportation. Both are biographies of human affections, human error and the strange sweet tangents of human love. Like the

rest of the species, Mary Hartman is lovably low—and respectfully high.

Libbie Gottschalk
Denver

Any connection between *Mary Hartman*, *Mary Hartman* and the real thing is utter nonsense. I know.

Mary L. Hartman
East Windsor, N.J.

No Heavenly Aida

Note for James Levine (rhymes with divine): your new *Aida* (Feb. 23) stinks (rhymes with sphinx).

George J. Longo
Newark

Excessive

Re "The Good Life" (Feb. 2): I wish you had asked me directly for my projections to the present period of the income levels required for each of the categories uncovered in my research. Most of the income levels you cited exceed my figures by 20%.

Richard P. Coleman
Senior Research Associate
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Cambridge, Mass.

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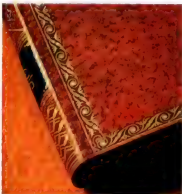
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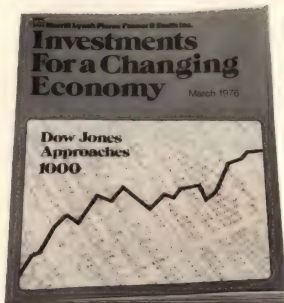
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AMERICAN NOTES

Now, the Ford Doctrine

For more than 150 years the U.S. Monroe Doctrine barring European powers from meddling in Latin America guided U.S. foreign policy in the Southern Hemisphere. In recent times the doctrine has grown dusty; no one in Europe was interested in Latin America. Last week President Ford uncorked a new version of the old policy, enunciating what might be called the Ford Doctrine. Angry over Premier Fidel Castro's decision last December to dispatch Cuban troops to Angola, Ford denounced Castro as an "international outlaw" before a group of Cubans in Miami just about to receive their U.S. citizenship (and thus become potential voters), and said that the U.S. would take "appropriate action" against Castro if he intervened anywhere in the Western Hemisphere.

Ford left undefined what appropriate action he meant. In one sense, he appeared to be simply reaffirming the U.S. commitment to the hemisphere's senior defense treaty, the Rio Pact. But it also appears that Ford was declaring what Secretary of State Kissinger had been telling Latin American leaders privately last month on his tour of the Latin nations: that the U.S., with the support of key Latin nations, would move against Cuban military intervention anywhere in the hemisphere. In any event, all putative Administration notions of further normalizing relations with Cuba are now in the deep-freeze.

Thinking Small

The legislators of Virginia, whose forebears once led the debates over American independence more than 200 years ago, today face another issue of great moment: whether to designate the state's official insect as the praying mantis, which the state's house of delegates has championed, or as the swallowtail butterfly, which the state senate has boosted. The question came to the fore last fall, when the fifth- and sixth-graders at the Arlington, Va., Long Branch Elementary School did some research on both the butterfly and the mantis and found the mantis, which has a reputation for ferocity because the female eats the male after mating, to be more socially useful. The youngsters then organized their own bus trip to Virginia's capital, Richmond, after the state senate adopted the butterfly. Appearing be-

fore the Virginia house of delegates, which was still in debate on the issue, Fifth-Grader John Meyers, aged 10, proclaimed: "The praying mantis is a noble insect, defending mankind from other predators." The mantis, the Arlington students explained to the Virginia legislators, eats bugs that destroy the corn, peanuts and tobacco of Virginia, while the butterfly in the caterpillar stage ravishes peach-tree leaves, cabbages and tobacco plants. The house of delegates, undaunted by the fact that the species of mantis indigenous to Virginia is called the "Carolina Mantis," was so persuaded that it voted 50 to 37 for the mantis

formed by prison chaplains or county officials, are maintaining roughly this same pace in the early months of 1976. Weddings are open to all prisoners, even the "lifers."

One reason for the increased tempo of marriages apparently is that inmates can then qualify for conjugal family visits, a practice inaugurated in California in 1968. This arrangement allows prisoners to use special prison housing units for trysts of up to 48 hours with spouses on the average of once every three months. Explains Department of Corrections Spokesman Philip Guthrie: "Our philosophy is now one of trying to make prison inmates responsible for their own decisions. It's also a reasonable speculation that it reduces tension behind the walls. But speculation is all it is. We don't have any evidence."

Last week Inmate Robert Bratton, 27, a welder serving ten years to life in San Quentin for armed robbery, happily married a 27-year-old outsider, Karen Toombs. Bratton and his wife were allowed a 19-hour honeymoon in the family housing unit. Said Bratton: "I think it's a great idea. It gives a man a chance to get closer with his woman. It helps you do time; it's something to look forward to."

Taking Semantic Cover

The Administration policy of détente with the Soviet Union is under increasing fire as the political season advances, so last week President Ford decided to provide a little semantic cover: he dropped the word. It was not Republican coinage anyway. The French noun crept into common usage among Western European diplomats in the '60s to describe a relaxation in tension between East and West. Henry Kissinger deliberately avoided using the word for several years because he felt it smacked of sentimentality (the literal French meaning of détente is relaxation or easing) and was also associated with West German Prime Minister Willy Brandt's opening-to-the-East Ostpolitik, to which Kissinger was cool.

However, after President Nixon's summit meeting with Brezhnev in 1972, the U.S. press latched onto détente and soon both Kissinger and Nixon were using the word as shorthand to sum up U.S.-Soviet relations. Now, in face of critics like Ronald Reagan, who charge that détente means unilateral concessions to the Russians, Ford has adopted the clumsy phrase "peace through strength."



DRAWING OF A PRAYING MANTIS
A momentous question of insects.

as the state insect. The matter now awaits final action by a house-senate conference committee, allowing the students, at least for the moment, to get a little buggy over their victory.

Slammer Nuptials

"Get me to the prison on time" is the latest refrain in California's twelve penal institutions. Since last October, when the California state legislature passed a statute restoring numerous civil rights to felons, including the right to marry, the wedding bells have been ringing loudly. In the last quarter of 1975, some 177 prisoners, or about 1% of state inmates, tied the knot. Slammer marriage ceremonies, usually per-



SCOOP JACKSON WHIPS UP HIS SUPPORTERS AT A RALLY IN BOSTON BEFORE HIS VICTORY IN THE MASSACHUSETTS PRIMARY

STEVE WOOD

THE PRIMARIES

Jackson Achieves a Critical Mass

With no hope for a quick knockout, the four leading Democratic candidates for President settled down last week for a long and bruising slugfest. Jimmy Carter, Henry Jackson and George Wallace were tirelessly crisscrossing Florida for this week's primary. Morris Udall was gamely trying to pull together the party's liberals before his next major outings on April 6 in New York and Wisconsin. Thus for the moment the candidates were still hoping to win the fight on points by picking up enough delegates in the party's caucuses and primaries to gain an overwhelming advantage at the convention in July.

The sloggish strategy—a political war of attrition—was forced on the candidates by the opening primaries, especially last week's contest in Massachusetts, which demonstrated that no candidate is likely to run away with the nomination. Indeed, Jackson's victory in Massachusetts only further muddled the picture and reinforced the view that the race will be hard, complex and fragmented. Long written off by many Democratic leaders as a lackluster, "can't win" campaigner, the Washington Senator stunned his rivals by getting 22.2% of the vote, thereby resurrecting himself as a major contender for the nomination. Behind him were Udall (18%), Wallace (17%) and Carter (14.2%). The outcome had other important consequences for all four:

JACKSON. His win improved only slightly his position in Florida but greatly strengthened him in New York

(which has 274 delegates), where he was already the front runner. He enthusiastically declared, "I am going to win in New York by more than a majority—it could be a landslide." Jackson also won about three-fourths of the vote at caucuses back home in Washington last week. He expects to do well in primaries in the big industrial states, particularly Pennsylvania (April 27), Michigan (May 18) and California (June 8).

UDALL. Together with his second-place finish in New Hampshire, his strong showing in Massachusetts made him the clear favorite among the liberals. As a result, Birch Bayh effectively dropped out of the race. The other liberal candidates—Fred Harris, Sargent Shriver and Milton Shapp—stayed in the running for the present but no longer have realistic expectations of winning many delegates. Even though the liberals seemed to be coalescing around Udall, Idaho Senator Frank Church still planned to enter some of the later primaries, with the goal of picking up enough votes to become a force at the convention.

WALLACE. He finished in Massachusetts about as well as he had predicted and was elated that he carried Boston, which he scornfully calls "that citadel of Eastern liberalism." But his showing probably did not increase his already considerable strength in Florida. Moreover, he has yet to demonstrate that he can win this year in a Northern industrial state; another chance will come next week in Illinois.

CARTER. He had expected to do better in Massachusetts, and his fourth place slowed the momentum he had gained by winning in New Hampshire. To recapture that forward thrust, he must run strongly against Wallace in Florida and Illinois, and in North Carolina on March 23. Carter's disappointment over Massachusetts was slightly



"Now we turn on the lights again, and—hul-lo, what's this—another?"

THE NATION

offset by his victory last week in Vermont. He received 46% of the vote, to 29% for Shriver, but the primary is not binding on the state's delegates.

The confusing results of the early primaries enhanced the sideline strategy of Hubert Humphrey, who is staying out of the contests in the hope that the convention will be deadlocked and turn to him. Democratic National Chairman Robert Strauss regards a deadlocked convention as increasingly likely. To help prepare for it, he intends to name an *ad hoc* committee of brokers that will be drawn from a cross section of the party, including labor, blacks, women and officeholders. If no candidate emerges from the primaries with the 1,505 delegate votes needed to win the nomination, the committee will begin

negotiating on a nominee even before the convention opens. Strauss believes the early start will forestall the televised spectacle of a prolonged deadlock that might turn off voters.

Rightward Shift. TIME learned last week from two high-ranking Democrats that Humphrey's chances of being the party's compromise nominee have been improved by an understanding he has reached with Jackson. The arrangement grew out of their high regard for each other. Explained one of the Democrats: "Hubert will not try to stop Jackson; in turn, if Scoop can't make it himself, he'll try to get Humphrey nominated." Much of Jackson's support would easily be transferred to Humphrey: Big Labor, party regulars, blue-collar Democrats and Jews. In addition, Humphrey could



BATH ANNOUNCING HIS WITHDRAWAL

A Moment of Charisma

Hundreds of cheering Bostonians pressed forward in the overheated hotel ballroom to get a glimpse of the triumphant figure on the podium. Heads of girls kept bobbing up and down; burly men elbowed in for a handshake. The object of all the excitement, enjoying his moment of glory, was a rather short, dumpy man in a baggy suit. Struggling to the microphone, Senator Henry (Scoop) Jackson said: "This loyalty is gonna carry us to victory in New York in July. In the meantime, we'll pick up a little charisma." The crowd chanted: "Scoop! Scoop! Scoop!"

For a moment, Jackson was what he has rarely been before: charismatic. It was the kind of transformation that political victory can work. For most of his long congressional career, Scoop has been a dutiful plodder, wooden and un-

comfortable with crowds. He spoke in what was dubbed a "Movietone News voice"—a monotonous, stentorian delivery that politicians employed before public address systems were invented. But in Massachusetts, perhaps sensing victory early on, he began to unbend and even modulate his voice. Crowds became a challenge rather than a concern. When antibusing hecklers forced him off the podium at a Boston stop, he never lost his dignity and won the respect of opponents in the audience. Says his press secretary, Brian Corcoran: "He just got tired of reading that he was dull and decided to do something about it."

On the issues, Jackson has shrewdly and forcefully blended a conservatism on foreign affairs and many social questions with a traditional liberalism on economics and civil rights. The issue of détente is almost his own. He started complaining about a one-way street long before the phrase was picked up by his Democratic rivals. He combines a skepticism about the Soviet Union with pleas for an old-fashioned patriotism and an end to national self-deprecation. He declares: "We have got to put a stop to constantly turning the other cheek and letting the other side kick us all over the lot." As a counterweight to Russia, he urges improved relations with China; he would open an embassy in Peking and reduce the embassy in Taiwan to a liaison office.

Jackson's stands are especially appealing to labor, the elderly and much of the Jewish population. No one is more hawkish in defense of Israel, and he drafted the bill prohibiting most-favored-nation status for the Soviet Union unless it permitted more of its citizens to emigrate. The effort collapsed when Russia refused to go along. A large percentage of the \$5 million in campaign funds that Jackson has collected to date

is estimated to have come from Jewish sources.

Among the candidates, Jackson is second only to George Wallace in his opposition to involuntary busing. A bill he has recently introduced in the Senate calls for the establishment of three-judge courts to decide all busing cases. Before they order busing, the judges would have to consider a variety of criteria, e.g., whether busing would lead to a further flight of whites, as it often has, thus reinforcing segregation. The bill would also authorize \$1 billion over the next two years for alternative methods of ending school segregation. Says Jackson: "I am making it clear that I am against busing and for integration."

Scoop believes the economy is the most important issue. "Jobs will be the centerpiece of the Jackson Administration," he asserts. He supports public works programs and other kinds of pump priming to ease unemployment. The Senator criticizes the Federal Reserve for its restrictive monetary policies, and he wants Congress to exercise more control over it. He favors price controls on oil and natural gas.

Jackson's biggest obstacle to the nomination remains left-wing Democrats. They fear his hawkishness on defense and foreign policy; they have not forgiven him his staunch support of the Viet Nam War. Complains Jackson: "Their view of a liberal is one who cannot be hard and tough. Their liberal must never, never support a defense budget of any kind. When they find that I take a hard-nosed position on issues of freedom, which I have all my life, this sort of gets 'em. And when they're confronted with the fact that I have by any honest measurement, as good a liberal record on domestic issues as anyone, they are driven up the wall. So they have to stop this monstrosity Jackson." But the man whom liberals see as a "monstrosity" could become a leading candidate in a year when moderation seems the vogue.

JACKSON ANTIBUSING AD IN BOSTON

"I AM AGAINST BUSING"

Senator Scoop Jackson



Let's stop the shouting.
Let's get something done.



HUMPHREY PONDERING IN WASHINGTON

win the backing of many other liberals who regard Jackson as too conservative on some issues.

Certainly no Democrat demonstrated in the early primaries that he can put together the broad coalition of voters needed to win the election in November. In Massachusetts, however, Jackson came closest, helped mostly by organized labor and a rightward shift among voters, particularly on race relations and social welfare issues.

Jackson ran well in almost every area except among blacks, who repudiated his stand against forced busing to desegregate schools; Georgia's Carter was strongest in black neighborhoods. Jackson was second to Wallace in Boston's most virulently antibusing wards; he was also second in the liberal—and

heavily Jewish—suburbs, where Udall found his greatest strength. But the Washington Senator was first in such working-class cities as Springfield, Worcester and Malden, where voters were attracted by his hard line on détente, his opposition to busing and his support of national health insurance.

Further, Jackson spent more money (about \$450,000) and put together a better campaign organization than any other candidate. Through door-to-door canvassing and telephoning, his workers, totaling some 2,500 paid staffers and volunteers, identified his supporters. On primary day the Jackson committee got out the vote by using cars and rented yellow school buses to transport some 15,000 voters to the polls, despite a severe ice storm. Cracked one Boston pol-

Shooting from Left Center

Surrounded by his wife "Tiger," his brother Stewart, two of his six children and former Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox, elated Arizona Congressman and inveterate Punster Morris (Mo) Udall told his cheering supporters at the Sheraton-Boston Hotel that "with the results here in Massachusetts, we've got no momentum." Indeed, after second-place showings in New Hampshire and Massachusetts, the once obscure Representative and ex-pro basketball player now does have a strong surge of forward motion—at least among liberal Democrats. Senator Birch Bayh's followers in New York State, scene of Udall's next big primary on April 6, have already begun to coalesce around Udall's campaign. Says Ethan Geto, one of Bayh's New York leaders: "Based on some early soundings, the majority sentiment [among Bayh's delegate states] so far is clearly for Mo Udall." Other liberals are planning to abandon Sargent Shriver and Senator Frank Church—due to enter the presidential race next week—to go with Udall. Having grabbed the liberal banner and proclaimed himself "the only horse to ride," Udall has already started to concentrate his efforts on wooing the minorities and the more conservative blue-collar and labor Democrats in New York.

All this represents a sharp change from Udall's relatively lonely position in 1974. That was when he started out for the presidency, a feat not accomplished from the House since James Garfield did it in 1880. Udall began campaigning around the country, mainly in the Northern primary states like New Hampshire, Massachusetts, New York and Wisconsin. He badly flubbed his organizing of Iowa, the first caucus state, and virtually ignored the South. Still, his early start, unflagging drive and shrewd campaigning attracted a good volunteer organization, the backing of

Democratic intellectuals like Harvard Professor John Kenneth Galbraith, and many of the old McGovern-McCarthy liberal legions.

Udall comes from a highly political Arizona family, and he has won reelection seven times, with increasing majorities in a conservative state. No dogmatist in his views, he voted against repeal of the state right-to-work section of the Taft-Hartley Act in 1965 because his state fiercely favored the section—though today he says that as President, he would work for repeal. Just two weeks ago, he told a liberal Harvard Law School audience that he was against gun control. "I know I'm going to lose some of you on that one, but that's where I am." Then he added, "I don't claim total courage; I don't claim total wisdom." The hall exploded with applause.

Udall is undeniably liberal on the basic economic issues. He enthusiastically endorses Government-guaranteed full employment and is willing to accept inflation as a side effect of such a policy. He thinks jawboning industries and a wage-price board that "yells like hell when steel companies raise prices" would help keep inflation under control. He wants to federalize the welfare system and enact national health insurance. He believes in keeping the energy growth rate down to 2% a year to conserve resources, a proposal he made in June 1975. He wants to save the country's land from the ravages of strip mining and unrestrained exploitation of its resources by carefully developing coal and publicly owned fossil fuel. He proposes breaking up oil companies both vertically and horizontally.

In foreign policy, he flatly opposes covert action by the CIA, though he does not mind "having spies in the Kremlin, in the P.L.O., and in the Portuguese

army. We need a professional CIA and we should give back its dignity." He admires Pat Moynihan's tough approach to the Third World. He would focus foreign policy on a "few geographical areas that are important to our national interest and not get involved in brushfire wars." He advocates substantial cuts in the defense budget and wants a "lean and efficient" military.

Udall places most of his emphasis on restoring trust in American leadership. Polls during the Massachusetts primary rated him high among the voters on honesty and decency. But for all his attractive characteristics, he still faces an immense challenge. One old classmate at the University of Arizona recalls that whenever Udall, as captain of the college basketball team, "got his hands on the ball at center court, he'd shoot." He's still playing the long shot now, firing away from center-left court, hoping to sink it and win.

UDALL CAMPAIGNING IN MASSACHUSETTS



THE NATION

itician: "I'll be goddamned if George Wallace was not outbused."

The next primary in a Northern industrial state will take place in Illinois on March 16. Unlike the Massachusetts primary, the Illinois delegate-selection race will be much more important than the separate preferential vote, commonly called the beauty contest. But the Democratic competition for 155 delegates stands to be inconclusive. Reason: nowhere on the ballot is the name of the most important Democrat in the election—Chicago Mayor Richard Daley. His Honor, aiming to be a major broker at the convention, has filed slates of candidates committed to a favorite son, Senator Adlai Stevenson III. The Senator is not actively stumping, but so magic is his name in Illinois—and so great is Daley's clout—that Stevenson

servative voters and putting together the same kind of organization that brought him victory in the big old Bay State.

Because of the attention given to the Democratic contest in Massachusetts, the Republican primary passed almost unnoticed. As expected, Gerald Ford soundly beat Ronald Reagan, with 62% of the vote. The victory helped swell the President's momentum in Florida, so dismaying Reagan that he sharply attacked Ford for the first time. At a news conference in Orlando, the Californian said he was not questioning Ford's "decency, honor and patriotism." But, Reagan charged, "Gerald Ford... has shown neither the vision nor the leadership necessary to halt and reverse the diplomatic and military decline of the U.S." A reporter asked Reagan if he

tion. His state campaign chief, popular former Governor Richard Ogilvie, shrewdly got many well-known G.O.P. stars, including six Congressmen and one former Congressman, to run as Ford delegates. TIME's midwest bureau chief Benjamin W. Cate reported that by the estimate of party leaders, Ford as of last week stood to win at least 60 and Reagan 36 of the 96 Republican delegate seats up for grabs.

GOVERNORS

Savage Scrap in Illinois

"S.O.B." "Sissy." "Hypocrite." "Puppet."

These are just a sampling of the epithets that are being hurled back and forth between Democrats in one of the roughest gubernatorial campaigns in the gamy history of Illinois politics. Incumbent Dan Walker, 53, is stopping at almost nothing to keep his job in next week's party primary. Illinois Secretary of State Michael Howlett, 61, is matching him blow for low blow.

It is a classic confrontation. Walker, urbanely handsome and acerbically independent, is running for a second term against the venerable Democratic machine of Chicago Mayor Richard Daley. Howlett, folksy and wise-cracking, is running with machine support. The outcome will go a long way toward determining the political leadership of Illinois when Daley, 73, finally bows out. Indeed, Daley hand-picked Howlett to fight Walker, whom the mayor never liked and now despises because of his attacks on the machine. Boasts Howlett, "Dick Daley has been a friend of mine for 30 years." Retorts Walker: "We're going to whip Boss Daley like he needs to be whipped."

Ethnic Vote. In style, the two candidates could hardly be more different. A portly, genial, old-fashioned pol from Chicago, Howlett last year backslapped his way through 260 functions around the state; he is running at an even brisker pace this year. Though Walker is moving even faster, he is deceptively low-keyed at factory gates and bowling alleys: "Need your vote. Don't forget." He is working hard to slice off some of Chicago's ethnic vote, which is usually safe for Daley's candidate. Walker charges that no member of the Polish community has been picked for any county office by the machine this year. To cheers, he announces: "I'm tired of Polish jokes."

Walker might be stronger if he had not made such extravagant claims for himself. Says Congressman Abner Mikva, who has not endorsed either candidate: "When you blow your horn as often and as loud as Walker has, people start expecting a knight in shining armor." Walker indicated he would cut the state budget, instead, it increased from \$7.6 billion when he took office in



JACK FORD CAMPAIGNING FOR HIS FATHER AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
Strong organization and swelling momentum.

should pick up at least 90 delegates, whom the mayor will control.

Carter may well come in second, winning some 25 delegates, chiefly in three Northern congressional districts. Wallace can be expected to land a dozen or more delegates in blue-collar areas in the central part of the state and could get a handful in the Cook County suburbs, where race is an issue.

Serious Problem. Both Jackson and Udall are in effect sitting out Illinois and face the serious problem of keeping their campaigns moving forward in the weeks before April 6, the date of the New York and Wisconsin primaries. Udall will spend the time replenishing his treasury, which was sorely depleted in Massachusetts, and beefing up his campaign organization, particularly in New York. Jackson also will devote much of his time to New York, where he has spent months building strength among moderate and con-

were violating his promise to abide by the G.O.P.'s "Eleventh Commandment"—thou shalt not smite thy fellow Republican. No. Reagan replied lamely, he was not hitting Ford personally, only his Administration's policies.

Next week Ford and Reagan will face each other again, in the Illinois primary. Because of the importance of the state to his campaign strategy, which requires his doing well in the early primaries, Reagan has stumped in Illinois for five days since the new year and plans to spend four more days there this week. Ford made his first campaign trip to Illinois last week, and he will return this week. In addition, he has made good use of Son Jack, who spent all last week politicking for his father on college campuses in the state.

Ford has some significant advantages over Reagan in the primary, most notably his incumbency, the support of party regulars and a stronger organiza-

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HOWLETT & SUPPORTER

1973 to a projected \$9.9 billion for fiscal 1977. He pledged an immaculately clean government, but a huge Medicaid scandal has shaken his administration (TIME, Feb. 23). He said he would end patronage abuses, yet he has put many of his supporters on the public payroll.

The Governor has offended almost every organization that could lend him support. The Illinois Education Association, angry at Walker for vetoing education bills, is backing Howlett. The United Auto Workers are against the Governor because the state took an unconscionably long time to distribute unemployment checks. The Illinois State Employees Association supports Howlett, charging that Walker is "creating a shambles of orderly government."

Key Issue. Angriest of all are Walker's onetime ardent supporters, the liberal independents, who were largely responsible for elevating the little-known corporation lawyer to the governorship. They are enraged by what they consider his turn to the right. Rather than abolishing the death penalty as he pledged in 1972, he signed a bill establishing it for certain cases, for example the murder of a policeman. He excoriates "well-fare cheaters." He boasts that he is the first Governor in 27 years to avoid raising taxes. As he sees it, this is the key issue of the campaign. Says Walker: "I believe in playing the odds with patience and waiting for that good hand—and then milking it for all it's worth."

Howlett seemed to have the winning hand—until last January. Then Chicago newspapers reported that he had been collecting \$15,000 a year as "vice president" of Sun-Steel Co., a post that, in some written statements, he implied that he no longer held. When he was accused of lobbying for legislation helpful to the



GOVERNOR WALKER

steel-scrap industry, he denied the charge, but he resigned his post. On top of that, he divulged that in 1974 he declared as personal income—and paid taxes on—\$100,000 in political contributions. He maintained that the money was used to retire campaign debts, though he had diverted some or all the funds for his personal use. In Illinois, this was legal in 1974 but of questionable propriety.

Probably no one is enjoying the bloodletting more than former U.S. Attorney James Thompson, who is likely to win the Republican primary. Whichever Democrat prevails in a race that is considered too close to call will then have to face a tough fight against a popular crimebuster. By successfully prosecuting many politicians, "Big Jim" Thompson has damaged the Daley machine more than anyone else.

THE SENATE

Mansfield Steps Down

He is easily the Senate's coolest elder statesman. Genial, pipe-smoking Democrat Mike Mansfield, Montana Senator since 1953 and his party's majority leader since 1961, can be sharp-tongued when he needs to be. But in 15 years of Senate floor leadership—the longest tenure of any floor leader in the history of the upper chamber—he is legendary for almost never having lost his temper. Other majority leaders, like Mansfield's predecessor, Lyndon Johnson, bullied, threatened and arm-twisted recalcitrant colleagues. The Montanan soothed, persuaded with calm reason and took the quiet way.

He changed the nature of the Senate. He virtually ended the parliamen-

tary stranglehold of the filibuster, regularly forbidding Senators to engage in all-night attempts to break them. When a Democratic committee chairman wanted to steer a bill through floor debate, Mansfield graciously surrendered his front-row desk to the chairman. He consistently urged younger Senators to take the lead in proposing challenging new legislation.

Final Service. Last week Mansfield, 72, announced that he will not seek reelection this year. His voice quivering, he said that his "final public service" would be to retire and let the young leadership he fostered begin to work its own changes on the Senate. With his wife of 43 years, Maureen, he may now return to the University of Montana to teach Far Eastern history—the very job he left to enter politics in 1943.

Pennsylvania Senator Hugh Scott, the minority leader who, along with six other Senators, is also retiring this year, said in his reply: "I have never known a finer man." Virtually all of the Senate would agree.

Mansfield is proudest of his support for the 18-year-old's right to vote, his initiation of the Senate Watergate Committee and his role in the formation of a select committee to investigate the Central Intelligence Agency. But he will be best remembered for the loose-reined openness he brought to the conduct of Senate business, and for his early, unrelenting opposition to the Viet Nam War.

The battle over who would succeed Mansfield was already joined last week. The Democratic whip, West Virginian Robert C. Byrd, has expressed interest in the leadership post, and Maine's Edmund Muskie has announced that he will seek it. Minnesota's Hubert Humphrey might also land the job next January, should something more important down Pennsylvania Avenue not come his way. Ironically, Humphrey was the man whom the modest Mansfield had proposed for the post when it became vacant in 1961.

MONTANA'S MIKE MANSFIELD



TRIALS

The Plodder Scores Off the Idol

F. Lee Bailey may be the matinee idol of Patty Hearst's trial, outthinking, outtalking and very often outclassing U.S. Attorney James L. Browning Jr. But for all his forensic skills, the famed defense attorney has consistently lost important legal disputes to the plodding prosecutor. Last week Bailey once again suffered more defeats than he scored victories as Patty's case moved into its final stages.

The legal sparring began with a clash between defense and prosecution over whether Judge Oliver J. Carter

seemed to be in her own words. But the psychologist felt that Patty had not composed the belligerent "Tania tapes," in which Patty ridiculed her parents and fiancé Steven Weed, declared that she had willingly taken part in the robbery of the Hibernia Bank branch in San Francisco and declared herself a revolutionary ("I have chosen to stay and fight"). After studying S.L.A. tapes and writings, Singer decided that these particular messages were probably read by Patty from scripts prepared by Angela Atwood, an S.L.A. ideologue fond

Carter later ruled in Browning's favor on another matter: a defense demand that Patty's case be dismissed because the Government had withheld evidence that might help show the defendant's innocence of the charges against her. At issue were the photographs taken by the Hibernia Bank's security cameras, which clearly showed Patty taking part in the robbery. The defense claimed that the prosecution's reproductions of the pictures left out S.L.A. Member Camilla Hall, who, Patty's lawyers argued, was pointing her carbine at the defendant. Vernon Kipping, the FBI expert who made a movie out of the pictures, testified that the exclusion was "inadvertent." He added that Hall did not seem to be covering Patty but was aiming her gun at the teller's windows. New photographs, including Hall, were shown to the jury, but Judge Carter denied the defense's plea to dismiss the indictments.

Surprise Witness. With that, Bailey rested the defense of Patty Hearst, and Browning returned to the attack in his rebuttal. The prosecutor introduced a surprise witness: Zigurd Berzins, 32, an electronics technician and operator of the "Tweeter's n Woolfer" stereo shop in San Francisco. Berzins said that he had been entering the Hibernia Bank on the morning of April 15, 1974, when he heard a "metallic" noise behind him. Turning, he saw a woman, armed with an M-1 carbine, kneeling on the pavement to pick up two ammunition clips and one or two cartridges. Seconds later, said Berzins, he was ordered by another woman robber to lie on the floor of the bank and never did get a good look at the person who dropped the bullets. By his own accounts, Berzins was so shaken by the incident that at one time he told the FBI the person was Patricia Soltysik and at another Nancy Ling Perry—both members of the S.L.A. It was when he saw Patty's picture in the newspapers, Berzins said, that he decided she had been the fumble-fingered bandit.

Berzins' testimony was important because it attacked Patty's credibility, upon which her entire case depends. She had told the jury that when she entered the bank she was not carrying any live rounds other than those that might have been in her gun.

In his cross-examination, Bailey tried to impugn Berzins, wondering sarcastically how the witness could even have been sure that the person who dropped and retrieved the ammunition had been female.

Berzins said he was struck by the hands and the length of the person's hair.

Asked Bailey quickly: "Then long hair is a clue?"

"Yes, sir."

"How long have you been in San Francisco?" asked Bailey.

There was a wave of derisive laugh-



should allow the jury to hear the testimony of Margaret Singer, a Berkeley psychologist who is an expert at analyzing speech patterns. Bailey wanted Singer to tell the jury that Patty had been reciting her captors' words when she recorded some of her startling messages on tapes that were sent back from the underground world of the Symbionese Liberation Army. Browning, in turn, argued that Singer's kind of testimony should not be heard because of a lack of both legal precedent and "sufficient scientific reliability."

Simple Sentences. To help make up his mind, Judge Carter excused the jury and heard Singer describe the conclusions that she had reached after spending some 24 hours speaking with and testing Patty, as well as examining her letters, school papers and a tape made prior to her kidnapping. The defendant, the witness noted, had a tendency to speak in simple declarative sentences and in the present tense. Singer said that Patty's first taped communications ("Mom, Dad, I'm O.K.")

of bombast and complex phrasing, who was killed in the fiery Los Angeles shootout on May 17, 1974.

The eulogistic message sent by Tania after the holocaust sounded to Singer—because of its phrasing—as though it had been composed by Emily Harris. Singer also said that Emily and her husband William Harris had concocted portions of the "Tania interview," a lengthy question-and-answer manuscript that the trio had been preparing for use in a book about the S.L.A. During the interview, Patty called her parents "rich pigs" and told how, far from being forced to join the S.L.A., she had actually had to persuade some of the terrorists to accept her. ("After only a couple of weeks I started to feel sympathetic with the S.L.A.")

When Singer finished, Judge Carter agreed with Browning that she should not be allowed to relate her findings to the jury. Said he: "This is a field which has never been accepted before as a subject on which expert testimony can be given."



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True, our nuclear history is short, the technology young, power awesome. But, present safety records are good, and safeguards elaborate. The risk so far seems acceptable.

We should continue to apply and improve our nuclear technology: developing breeder reactors that could insure centuries of energy from known fuel reserves. That could consume present fission wastes. Ultimately we may unlock the limitless energy of fusion.

But realizing full nuclear potential will take time—more time than the world's known supply of oil and gas will allow. So we must continue to refine our coal technology. To develop affordable petroleum substitutes. To make coal cleaner, less disruptive. To buy time to research other energy forms: winds, tides, the sun, geothermal heat.

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That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

ter from the packed courtroom, and someone shouted: "Right on!"

"You didn't see any breasts poking around the coat, did you?" asked the defense attorney.

Replied Berzins: "I wasn't looking at the breasts."

Bailey wondered why Berzins had initially misidentified the person to the FBI. At first, said Berzins, he had been nervous, but "after I had some repose, then you get the final statement."

Bailey paused dramatically, then said quietly but with seething disgust: "Yeah."

Later, Bailey fought hard to prevent the prosecution from entering into evidence any of the 1,000 or so documents, notebooks and papers, including the Tania interview, that had been seized in the Harrises' apartment when they were arrested last Sept. 18. Bailey based his objection on a ruling the day before by Los Angeles Superior Court Judge Mark Brandler, who held that material taken from the apartment could not be used in the forthcoming state trial of the Harrises because it had been seized by FBI agents who had not obtained the necessary search warrant. "Browning wanted to show the jury some of these materials, which covered the year before Patty was arrested, on the grounds that they indicated that she had actively cooperated with the S.L.A. in 'casing banks' instead of having been, as she claimed, an unwilling captive of the terrorist band."

Laundry List. After considering the matter, Carter issued a Solomonian decision that gave the larger share to Browning. The fact that the Harrises' rights might have been violated by the FBI's actions had no bearing on Patty's case, Carter said, because she had no "proprietary or possessory interest" in the apartment. Indeed, he pointed out, the defendant had testified that she had never even visited the place.

Then Carter admitted into evidence a dozen pieces of evidence that the prosecutor had especially wanted to get before the jury. When asked by Browning about some of the items earlier in the trial, Patty had repeatedly cited her Fifth Amendment rights against self-incrimination 42 times in all, leaving some members of the jury visibly startled. The new material included notes in Patty's handwriting, so stipulated by Bailey, that seemed to be cryptic references to making a time bomb: "toaster wire: 10 sec. timing device w fuse; clock (set to minutes) or cigarette (wire in fuse)." There were also more explicit and alarming comments: "place for 'switch' car to be (just in case); lookout signal; meet to talk about shooting."

Another exhibit, bearing Patty's fin-

gerprints although not her handwriting, was a neatly typed outline that Browning characterized as "a laundry list" of how to rob a bank. The step-by-step tips cautioned that planning the getaway could be tricky: "The first plan for the route isn't always the best." The paper called for a "final dry run," and a last-minute check of "weapons, ammo, clothing, disguise." Typed on the left side of the document was a warning: "Expect the unexpected."

Carter said he would admit the manual because it did not refer to any specific operation. But he turned down Browning's efforts to enter another document on the grounds that it was much

was killed. Said Carter: "If you talk about banks in the Sacramento area, it seems to me it is raising the flag of the homicide question." And that, he felt, might unfairly harm Patty's case in the minds of the jurors.

Trying to show that Patty had not lived in constant fear of the Harrises, as she claimed, Browning put on the stand Ronald Ferguson, an FBI cryptology expert, who testified about a communications system used by the S.L.A. that was found in her handbag on the day of her arrest. The data, written in code on a card, gave the numbers of public telephones in the San Francisco area. A similar card was found on William

Harris when he was arrested. Browning argued that the Harrises would never have given Patty such secrets unless they trusted her. The code was dismissed by Associate Defense Counsel Albert Johnson as "the kind that would be used by Captain Midnight," but it took Ferguson two weeks to crack.

Bitter Clash. Browning then called Dr. Joel Fort, a San Francisco practitioner in mental health. The prosecution hoped that he would offset the eminent defense psychiatrists, who supported Bailey's contention that Patty had been coerced by the S.L.A. into helping to rob the bank. An eye-catching figure with a shaved head, Fort clashed bitterly with Bailey, at one point, the two accused each other of lying. Fort testified that he had interviewed Patty for 15 hours, studied documents on the case for some 300 hours, and even spent an hour in one of the closets where the defendant was kept. Browning then asked Fort his views on the key



JUDGE CARTER LEAVING HOUSE WHERE PATTY WAS HELD
Afraid of raising the flag of homicide.

question of the trial: "Did the defendant participate in the bank robbery because she was in fear of her life or grave bodily injury from the S.L.A.?"

"No," replied Fort, and Bailey leaped to his feet, objecting strenuously that the witness was trying to give the jurors his opinion on "the ultimate issue of this case."

Judge Carter said he would consider Bailey's point over the weekend, and shortly afterward recessed the trial. This week the prosecution is scheduled to call Dr. Harry Kwoh, a Massachusetts psychiatrist, to back up its claims that Patty was not a terrified captive of the S.L.A. Some time late this week, the seven women and five men in the jury are expected to get the case and settle down to decide whether Patty Hearst was a prisoner of the S.L.A. on the morning of the robbery—or is lying today.

*The Harrises are accused of kidnapping, armed robbery and assault with a deadly weapon—all charges stemming from events that began with a shopping spree at Mel's Sporting Goods store near Los Angeles on May 16, 1974. Patty is charged with the same crimes.



SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY KISSINGER: TOPIC OF DIPLOMATIC CONVERSATION, SUBJECT OF POLITICAL DEBATE

THE WORLD

DIPLOMACY

A Growing U.S.—and Global—Concern

American presidential elections are always unnerving to policymakers outside the U.S. With as many as a dozen candidates stumping America, boldly attacking this position or proudly defending that one, observers abroad see American foreign policy as falling into a quadrennial state of near paralysis. This year the problem is compounded by what has come to be known in Washington and in chancelleries abroad as "the Kissinger problem" (see box opposite). Among the signs:

► The Administration is bogging down in obtaining a SALT II agreement with the Soviets. Sharp differences over arms limitations exist, not only between Washington and Moscow but also between the State Department and the Pentagon. Some presidential advisers side with the military because they fear a new SALT agreement might be an election-year liability. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger insists that the Joint Chiefs ought to support him on SALT, if for no other reason than that an agreement would give them the cruise missiles they want. Some military men do support him, but for a different reason. They argue that an agreement would slow the arms race; without such a slowdown, they add, Moscow would win an all-out race, given the present U.S. mood on defense spending.

► Détente, a term that Kissinger did not introduce and never particularly liked, has become a political liability. President Ford intends to drop détente

from his lexicon. "It's only a word," the President said last week. "I don't think it is applicable any more." The word may not be applicable—or politically safe—but the notion of working to reduce the risk of a U.S.-Soviet confrontation is certainly important. Yet Kissinger is being faulted for giving Moscow undue advantages in his eagerness to reach agreements.

► Sino-American relations, which Kissinger did much to restore after a 23-year break, have gone from sweet to sour. Some diplomats insist that Richard Nixon's invitation from Peking was designed not only as an honor for the ex-President but also as a slap at Kissinger for appeasing the Russians.

► In the Middle East, following last year's Sinai disengagement between Egypt and Israel, there appear to be no new options for solving the more dangerous problems of the Golan Heights and the Palestinians. Egyptian President Anwar Sadat gave new fuel to Kissinger's critics last week by revealing that the Secretary had made a number of secret agreements as part of the Sinai negotiations. One agreement pledges the U.S. to prevent Israel from attacking Syria; another binds the U.S. to bring the Palestinians into negotiations.

► In Western Europe, there is resentment over strident U.S. opposition to the growing successes of Communist parties in the West (see ESSAY page 38).

► U.S. African policy, in the aftermath of Angola, has been called non-

policy. The U.S., with no diplomatic options after the Portuguese withdrawal, could only try—and fail—to match Soviet aid with covert help to two Angolan factions.

► In Latin America, a rare Kissinger visit to Washington's most neglected allies produced little more than a U.S.-Brazilian agreement to hold semiannual bilateral consultations. Brazil's neighbors are nervous about what that means. In view of Brazil's autocratic regime and documented stories of political torture, the other Latin states were astounded by Kissinger's paean to Brasília for its "concern for human dignity and for the basic values of man."

Nor are foreign statesmen alone in their criticism of the American Secretary of State. Especially since the New Hampshire primary, "the Kissinger problem" has surfaced in every White House campaign strategy session. Some politicians are trying to make the Secretary a major issue—too much power, too easy with the Russians. What was unthinkable a few months ago is now a vapid but emerging thought: foreign policy, détente, SALT, or however one wishes to describe the American attitude toward the outside world, could be distorted so grotesquely by the political struggle that Kissinger indeed might be allowed to resign.

If critics like Ronald Reagan and Senator Henry Jackson stood alone, they might not be given much weight. But a lot of things are happening now to wor-

Kissinger's Personal Plan

For a time a couple of years ago, Henry Kissinger pondered quitting. He would leave, marry Nancy and go off to Oxford for a civilized life. It did not all work out that way. There was Watergate. There were a few other things, like his love of power and his Boeing 707. (When asked if he would leave office, he recently joked with airborne reporters: "If any university offers me a plane like this one.")

But last December he came so close to giving up his job that only President Ford's personal urging stopped him. Kissinger polled his closest associates, including Winston Lord and Larry Eagleburger at the State Department, friends like David Bruce, Robert McNamara and Dean Rusk. Their counsel was split about fifty-fifty. Some said that he was needed. Others said he would become an issue in the election year, hurting the country and damaging himself.

Even then, Kissinger had some sense of what was to happen to him. The catharsis from Viet Nam would continue, he calculated, coming to rest on him, the one man from those dark days still in high power. And then, Kissinger told his patient listeners, the American people would probably wake up with the spring flowers to see what he and some others had long known: the power of the Soviet Union was drawing abreast of the U.S.'s—a profound shock after a quarter-century of overwhelming superiority.

Kissinger, however, is a very practical man and he has a contingency plan. He has talked it over in bits and pieces for some time with the President. At the start of 1976, he went over it once more with Ford, so that there was no misunderstanding. He understood, he told the President, that events could make it necessary for him to resign to prevent Ford's political defeat. Kissinger was ready and willing on signal. And he would do it so that it would not impair the continuity of America's foreign policy. Just what signal Ford would give Kissinger is a greater secret than what the Secretary talks about in the Kremlin. But the understanding between President and Secretary is complete.

If the attacks on Kissinger had happened three years ago, he has confided to his closest friends, he is not at all sure he could have taken it. He is a tougher man today. He has seen a President leave office, the Viet Nam War fail, the U.S. retreat from foreign obligations. Sometimes late at night when he is mellow he chuckles that he may be the only disciple of John Kennedy ("support any friend, oppose any foe") left in town, a double irony since critics like Senator Henry Jackson accuse him of being too soft on the Soviets.

Howard ("Bo") Callaway, head of Ford's campaign, has urged the President to distance himself from Kissinger, and to tell him to lower his voice for the primary season. Kissinger heard some of the talk played back in gossipy Washington. He asked Callaway over to chat about the problem. Bo explained his "distance" theory. Henry countered that Presidents were not credited with leadership by being distant from their Secretaries; they were either leaders or they were not.

But while the political criticism has been raging in the outside world, there has been a singular consolidation of strength

in the foreign-policy establishment. The Kissinger files bulge with letters from men of position, foreign and domestic, who say that Henry must stay even though he may be bruised. His achievements are recognized in their world, if not in the political campaign, they insist. Those few experts who suggest that he resign argue that he should do so to avoid increasingly severe personal attacks.

One who would have him stay is Nelson Rockefeller. He and Kissinger share a view of U.S. pre-eminence that is considered old-fashioned by some of the measures now applied in Washington. They talk about their political fortunes very often, the two getting perhaps their most important personal support from each other.

Kissinger also draws much support from the fraternity of those who know the price that power demands from its practitioners. The other night he had a dinner for a few power wielders, including Hubert Humphrey and Jacob Javits. There was an undercurrent of sympathy for Kissinger's dilemma, if not agreement on all the issues that placed him in it. Several days ago, he breakfasted with Barry Goldwater, another supporter, and in the aerie of the State Department they pondered the strange equation of Richard Nixon off in China, a journey that both felt would do that



shattered man far more harm than good. Kissinger talks often and easily with Kay Graham, whose *Washington Post* prods him every day. She is a source of reassurance. He also keeps up his links with Harvard, drawing advice on disarmament and other policy, although his enthusiasm for the talent he finds there is lukewarm.

Joys, triumphs, mistakes, sorrows—he has known plenty of all of these. His remains a long journey in a dangerous world. But for all the changes that Kissinger has seen and helped bring about, he is in some respects personally unchanged. His compelling mission still is to try to hold off nuclear war and sustain liberty. His life is one of total immersion in the exercise of power, its literature and personalities. Books, music and art are confined to glimpses along the way, although now and then he journeys over to Jack Valenti's Motion Picture Association emporium for a movie. He fell asleep during Fellini's amusing *Amarcord*, but stayed wide awake throughout *Farewell, My Lovely*, a Raymond Chandler rouser starring Robert Mitchum—a steely, quiet actor in whose presence Kissinger, the lonesome cowboy, seems comfortable.

THE WORLD

ry Americans—and friends of the U.S. the melancholy warnings of Alexander Solzhenitsyn, new statistics showing the Soviets ahead in many areas of military strength, the Angolan debacle. For all of Gerald Ford's growing stature as a leader, foreign policy is still seen by many as Kissinger's creation.

"It is difficult today to carry on any discussion on a major problem of foreign policy," a senior British diplomat said last week, "that does not turn into a discussion about Kissinger." Quite a few diplomats obviously agree with former Israeli Premier Golda Meir, who quotes an old Hebrew saying, "Respect him but suspect him."

Kissinger is losing respect for the very reason he gained it in the first place. In three years as Secretary of State, he has totally personalized policy: he has been shuttle negotiator, congressional liaison, White House adviser and global operations chief—as well as policymaker. As virtuous as it accomplished results, this virtuoso solo performance drew raves. Now results are harder to come by and the applause is dwindling.

Nowhere is this more obvious than in the Middle East, where Kissinger has been creative. But success depended upon momentum, and Kissinger is losing that. Moreover, he is likely to come under fresh fire as a result of two new studies of his shuttle diplomacy. Not only may there have been secret agreements with Sadat, but the new material indicates that both Nixon and Ford promised Egypt a return to pre-1967 Sinai borders, with a "substantial" return of territory as well for both Syria and Jordan.

Poor Relations. To regain momentum, Kissinger and Ford are planning Middle East visits this spring. Kissinger is also urging the Israelis to consider new talks aimed at securing a pledge of non-belligerence from Sadat. For Egypt, he has announced the proposed sale of U.S. arms to replace Soviet equipment no longer available. So far, only six C-130 transport planes worth \$39 million are included, but Kissinger hopes to provide more than that for Egypt. As Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld said last week, "I wouldn't be surprised to find a

rifle or two on the list." But such arms deliveries may have trouble getting by a tough "Israel lobby" in Congress, especially since Israeli Premier Yitzhak Rabin promised that his government would oppose them.

The foreign policy problem has been deepened by poor relations between Kissinger and Capitol Hill. After the Cyprus crisis, Congress blocked military aid to the Turks—who then closed down 28 U.S. installations. In Angola, Congress rejected Kissinger's argument that the Soviet-Cuban initiative there called for a U.S. response. Kissinger's negotiations over the Panama Canal may be ruined by a jingoistic bloc on the Hill.

Elections supposedly revitalize machinery of government, including foreign policy, and such controversies ought to be the basis of a fruitful give-and-take. Unfortunately, but perhaps inevitably, the debate seems more likely to center around Kissinger the man. Fascinating as this may be, it does not help much to frame a sound discussion of foreign policy at a difficult moment.

The Stuff of Shuttle Diplomacy

Henry Kissinger might well ponder the truism: it never rains, it pours. As if he did not face enough criticism, he will soon have to cope with two acid-etched studies of his Middle East shuttle diplomacy. One is *The Arabs*, Israelis and Kissinger by Edward R.F. Sheehan, excerpts from which will appear this week in the quarterly magazine *Foreign Policy*. Sheehan is a freelance writer and former State Department press officer who conducts Middle East seminars at Harvard's Center for International Affairs. The other is *The Secret Conversations of Henry Kissinger by Israeli Journalist Matti Golan*, which will be published in

the U.S. next week. *Golan's* book was banned by Israeli military censors for revealing military secrets, but the ban was inexplicably lifted. A sampler from their reports.

SHEEHAN

A Pair of Foxes "Kissinger was touched at once by [Egyptian President Anwar] Sadat's urbanity and charm [during their first meeting in 1973]: Sadat liked Kissinger's incisiveness, so refreshing after the naivete of [U.S. Secretary of State William] Rogers. However, the reports of their instant romance (soon to be dramatized by their public

kissing) have been exaggerated. Essentially we glimpse a pair of foxes exchanging oaths of confidence, each of them intent on wielding the other for his own purpose."

Lecherous Plesantries "Typically, Kissinger began his first meeting with Syria's President Hafez Assad by being funny. Through the interpreter he said, 'I should teach you English, Mr. President. You'll be the first Arab leader to speak English with a German accent. Did you meet Mr. Sisco [Under Secretary Joseph J. Sisco, who is about to resign]? I had to bring him with me—if I left him in Washington he might mount a *coup d'état*.' Assad laughed. Kissinger assumed that the Syrians, like other Arabs, were intrigued by his success with women, so he talked about women and repeated some lecherous plesantries."

Capsule Appraisals "In conference with the Israelis, Kissinger contrasted Sadat and Assad: 'Sadat has a fixed determination to overcome obstacles and move toward peace. He makes big moves and breaks impasses. With Assad, each issue when you get to it becomes major, and you have to bargain over every point. It's so time consuming! Sadat makes command decisions. Assad has his lieutenants there, and I had to convince them too.' In describing Assad, Kissinger was also describing the Israelis to themselves."

Miss Israel As for Golda Meir, Assad told Sheehan that "one of the weaknesses I discovered in Dr. Kissinger was his special love of that woman. It struck me as strange that this university professor and Secretary of State was unable to conceal such a furious affection. And for your information, he used



KISSINGER & EGYPTIAN PRESIDENT ANWAR SADAT EMBRACING NEAR ALEXANDRIA (1974)



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Now. It was developed to fill a contemporary demand. And it succeeds as no other cigarette ever has.

Now is lowest in 'tar' and nicotine of all cigarettes. It comes in both filter and menthol.

Now also gives you real smoking satisfaction. The flavor is mild and pleasant.

Now draws free and easy for a cigarette so low in 'tar' and nicotine.

Now has a unique specially designed filter that makes all this possible for the first time.

When is a good time to switch to Now? There's no better time than right now.

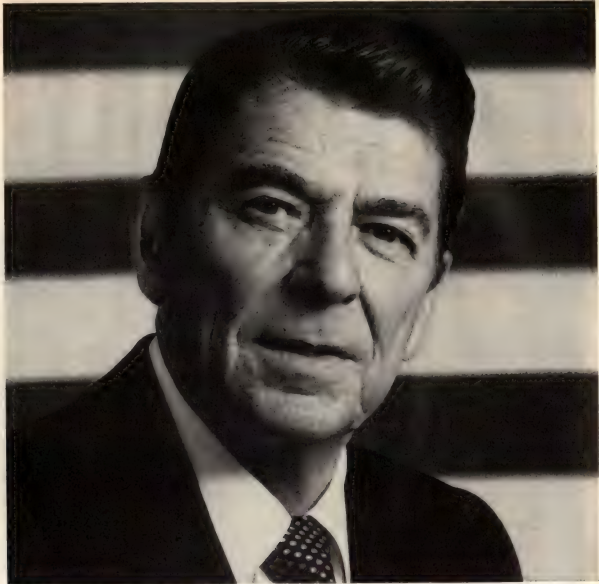


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"I think the people of this country today want more than anything else for government to get off their backs and out of their pockets.

"I can't promise any instant solutions to the problems that beset us, but I know this: those problems can be solved if government will have faith again in the people.

"We need a government that is confident not of what *it* can do for the people, but of what the people can do for themselves."

Ronald Reagan
Rockford, Illinois
January 12, 1976

**Reagan. He'll provide the strong
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Paid for by Citizens for Reagan - Senator Paul Laxalt, Chairman.



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That's Rockwell technology for you.**

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THE WORLD

to describe her as "Miss Israel."

Henry's Revenge: "He was furious with the Israelis after his March 1975 shuttle failed, and he took their refusal very personally—as having been directed not only at the U.S. but above all at him. For weeks after his return to Washington, Kissinger sulked and raged, castigating Israeli blindness to aides and visitors alike, compulsively telephoning distinguished Jews all over the country to complain of Israel's intransigence. His much trumpeted 'reassessment' of American policy in the Middle East was his revenge on Israeli behavior."

GOLAN

A Matter of Protocol: "Kissinger [during negotiations on withdrawal in the Golan Heights] told [Israeli Defense Minister Moshe] Dayan to make the map and throw it across the table at him. He kept shouting, 'Write on the map whatever you want. I no longer care.' There was complete silence. Dayan did not touch the map lying in the middle of the table; he only looked straight ahead with his one penetrating eye. Just then an American security man entered the room with Kissinger's glasses, which he had left behind at the hotel. He marched directly to Kissinger and handed them over. The American Secretary left the security man's hand hanging in the air. He froze him with a stare and asked if the young man didn't know that there was a certain hierarchy. The security man was confused and did not know what to do. [U.S. Ambassador Kenneth] Keating, who was sitting at the end of the table, finally came to his aid by signaling him over. The glasses were given to Keating, then Sisco, who finally gave them to Kissinger. Protocol had been preserved. The Israelis exchanged shocked glances."

Leaks about Negotiations: "Ambassador [Simcha] Dinitz delicately commented that many leaks were apparently coming from the American delegation. Kissinger went wild: 'You blame the Americans?' He asked incredulously. The journalists who accompanied him, he said, knew nothing except what he told them. And he only told them what served the negotiations."

The Disputed Telegram: "The telegram from President Ford [pressuring Israel to make further Sinai concessions] arrived just before Kissinger sat down with the Israeli negotiating team, and it turned the meeting into an icy confrontation. [Israeli Premier Yitzhak] Rabin told Kissinger that Israel would not accept dictation. He accused Kissinger of bringing in the President to pressure Israel. Kissinger claimed he had nothing to do with the presidential message. He said the Israelis seemed to think the President was a puppet whose strings were held by Kissinger. He said in disgust that if it were up to him, he would have given up Rabin lit another cigarette, looked straight at Kissinger and said, 'I do not believe you.'"

SOVIET UNION

Rubber-Stamping the Status Quo

Kremlinologists in the West have long speculated that Soviet Communist Boss Leonid Brezhnev would sing his swan song at this year's 25th Party Congress. Some swan song.

When the Congress concluded its eleven-day session in Moscow last week, Brezhnev, 69, appeared to be more secure than ever in his power. He was reappointed to the all-powerful Politburo and re-elected party General Secretary. While the collective leadership is certainly not dead, Brezhnev is indisputably *primus inter pares*. He gave a five-hour keynote speech, belying speculation that he is incapacitated by ill-health. Throughout the Congress, he re-

absence, suggested U.S. analysts, is that Kosygin limited himself to economic matters. Noted a State Department Kremlinologist: "Previously, it never bothered Kosygin to speak on a wider range of issues, but this time he avoided poaching on any Brezhnev territory."

Without a single dissent or abstention, the 5,000 Soviet delegates to the Congress ratified the new five-year plan, tenth in the country's history. Running from 1976 through 1980, the plan aims to boost output by 38% to 42% a year in heavy industry, by 14% to 17% in agriculture. Consumer goods are to grow at 30% to 32%; this sector enjoyed priority over heavy industry during the ninth plan, which ended in 1975 (TIME, March 1), but as Kosygin conceded, "Light industry and other industrial branches on which consumer goods depend have not yet lived up to requirements."

No Incentives. Kosygin tried to cushion the disappointing prospects for Russia's consumers by dramatizing the recent recession in the West. "The capitalist world has been in the grip of a grave economic crisis," he declared, "an organic disease of the capitalist system aggravated by the protracted militarization of the economy." This was resoundingly seconded by American Communist Party Boss Gus Hall, who described the economic situation in the U.S. as horribly bleak. Kosygin deftly skirted the chronic shortages plaguing the Soviet consumer. He blamed poor weather for last year's disastrous harvest that resulted in a 76-million-ton grain shortage. This forced Moscow to buy 35 million tons from the U.S. and other foreign suppliers. The Premier, of course, made no mention of Moscow's own massive militarization (expenditures totaled \$141 billion last year, v. \$94 billion for the U.S.).

Kosygin's prescription for his country's economy was increased productivity based on "scientific and technological progress and utmost thrift." Experience teaches, however, that those words will prove empty unless greater incentives are given to the Soviet laborer for working harder and more efficiently.

According to a U.S. analyst, the Kosygin speech meant "a more-of-the-same approach, on a more realistic basis." There were a few changes in the Politburo—Agriculture Minister Dmitry Polyonsky was made a scapegoat for the dismal harvests, and was dropped from the ruling body, while two candidate members were promoted to full membership. But the aging Soviet leadership remains basically unchanged and will probably continue pursuing essentially the same policies.



LEONID BREZHNEV IN MOSCOW

"Modesty, spiritual beauty and charm."

ceived tributes surpassing anything that has been said about a Soviet leader since Joseph Stalin. Uzbekistan Party Secretary Sharaf R. Rashidov, for example, rhapsodized over his leader's "excessive modesty and brilliant talent, his spiritual beauty and personal charm."

In contrast, Premier Aleksei Kosygin, 71, seems to have slipped, although he too kept his Politburo seat. His address on the economy ran only two hours, and, as he spoke, Brezhnev's chair on the dais was conspicuously—and unprecedentedly—vacant. That could indicate that Brezhnev intended to rebuff Kosygin, or that he was bored with the proceedings, since he and the rest of the Politburo had already read and approved the Premier's remarks. What may be more revealing than Brezhnev's

AFRICA

The Countdown for Rhodesia

"The choice for the Europeans in Rhodesia is not between handing over and hanging on. It is between a chance of survival and certain suicide." That ominous warning from London's conservative *Daily Mail* was echoed in many Western and African ministries last week. But if Rhodesia's Prime Minister Ian Smith got the message, he failed to heed it. Instead, the embattled Smith clung more tenaciously than ever to his minority government (273,000 whites vs. 5.8 million blacks). Meanwhile, an economic noose was tightening around the breakaway British colony, and there were ever louder alarms of a debilitating racial war between black- and white-ruled regimes that could engulf southern Africa. The possibility that Rhodesia would become the cockpit of

Africa's next violent conflict grew steadily stronger.

For a time last week, in fact, some Rhodesians thought that war had actually been declared. Charging Rhodesia with aggression against his country, Mozambique President Samora Machel told his 8.3 million people in a radio broadcast: "Our country has been attacked and our people are being massacred. We are in a state of war." (An erroneous translation at first referred to a declaration of war.)

Machel ordered his country's porous, 800-mile border with Rhodesia closed and declared that he would begin "fully implementing" the United Nations-imposed international sanctions against Rhodesia. His government detained 18 Rhodesian trainmen caught inside Mozambique's borders and seized a considerable amount of Rhodesian rolling stock as well as tons of tobacco, copper, chrome and asbestos awaiting shipment at Mozambique ports.

The immediate impetus for Machel's action was the growing conflict along the border between Rhodesian government forces and guerrillas of the Zimbabwe Liberation Army, which is dedicated to overthrowing Smith's regime by force. Only days before Machel's tough speech, Rhodesia had boasted of engaging in "hot pursuit" operations against the guerrillas—even though Machel had warned that such incursions into Mozambique's territory would be considered an act of war. According to Machel, Rhodesian jets strafed the border village of

Pafuri, killing seven Mozambican civilians and two soldiers. He said that Mozambique had shot down two of the planes, a claim Rhodesia did not deny.

Since launching Operation Hurricane in December 1972 to wipe out the guerrillas, the Rhodesian government says it has killed 786 rebels while losing 89 of its own troops. But the Zimbabwe forces, beefed up after three years of low-level and largely ineffective insurgency in northeastern Rhodesia, now have an estimated 10,000 fighters in Mozambique and Tanzania.

Keenly Felt. The local civilian populations along both sides of the border have become victims of both government and guerrilla reprisals. Salisbury has charged that Zimbabwe guerrillas have mutilated civilians suspected of being informers. There have also been reports of atrocities by Rhodesian forces against civilians.

For the time being, Smith's 12,000 troops under arms, comprising regulars, paramilitary police and reservists, will probably have little trouble containing the guerrilla insurgency. But Rhodesia's diplomatic and economic isolation as a result of the Mozambique action will be keenly—and immediately—felt. The loss of an outlet to the Indian Ocean via railway links to the Mozambique ports of Beira and Maputo immensely complicates Salisbury's trade with the outside world. Nearly 40% of Rhodesia's exports and imports moved along those rail lines. Alternate routes through South Africa are already congested.

Whether Smith survives at all, in fact, may very well depend on South Africa's Prime Minister John Vorster, his old white-supremacist ally. Vorster is himself under increasing pressure to find an equitable solution to Pretoria's jurisdiction over the disputed territory of South West Africa (Namibia) and to assuage his own black majority. After Pretoria's military misadventure in Angola, South Africans are chary of being sucked into another no-win situation. Vorster's response to the "state of war" last week was cautious, and he carefully avoided taking sides. But South Africa's influential *Financial Mail* minced no words about what his course should be. The only way to stop the dangerous chain of events that threatened to drag South Africa into war, the magazine editorialized, was for Vorster to "put a gun to Smith's head: settle or quit."

If Rhodesia now finds itself completely surrounded by hostile African governments (Tanzania, Zambia and Botswana all supported Mozambique's action), it will get no comfort from Britain Prime Minister Harold Wilson's government not only applauded Mozambique's imposition of sanctions against Rhodesia but also approved up to \$30 million in emergency humanitarian aid to help the hard-pressed Mozambique economy survive the loss of crucial rail revenues from Rhodesia.

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THE WORLD

envoy to Rhodesia, London has told Smith that if he would accept early black majority rule, Britain would 1) provide troops to protect whites and blacks alike during the transition period, and 2) underwrite the main financial cost of resettling Rhodesian Europeans in Britain and other Western countries. Although Smith now concedes that majority rule will have to come considerably sooner than he once envisaged ("not in my lifetime"), he still insists that an African majority government is 10 to 15 years off. That stubbornness prompted British Foreign Secretary James Callaghan to declare in exasperation last week: "Mr. Smith is his own man and will go his own way. But whether to heaven or perdition I am still not quite sure."

Lingering Hopes. The military assessment in Whitehall is that Smith has nine to twelve months at most before his regime is overwhelmed by a combined guerrilla war from surrounding African countries and a siege economy at home. "It's no longer the eleventh hour for Rhodesia but the 59th minute before Armageddon," said a British official in London. This view is based on the assumption that South Africa will not enter the war in force on the Rhodesian side, since such a move might trigger an Angola-scale Cuban intervention. At the moment, the British are resigned to the Cubans participating in a training and logistical role. But they do not think Fidel Castro's forces will engage in heavy combat as they did in Angola, unless Smith receives large reinforcements of South Africans or white mercenaries.

Britain's greatest fear is that Smith will launch a pre-emptive strike against Mozambique, which has no air force. Rhodesia's Canberras, Hunters and Vampire attack aircraft would have little trouble taking out guerrilla camps and breaking up concentrations of ground forces. The danger is that Moscow might reply by approving the use of Cuban-flown MIG 17s and 21s against the Rhodesian heartland. That would mean the end of all lingering hopes for a peaceful solution of Rhodesia's future.

THE NETHERLANDS

A Pink House Of Orange?

The Lockheed scandal may prove to be the worst thing to happen to the Dutch monarchy since Parliament took over effective governing power from King Willem II in 1848. More and more Dutchmen are wondering whether their much beloved Queen Juliana will abdicate in the wake of accusations that her husband, Prince Bernhard, took \$1.1 million from Lockheed to influence government decisions regarding the Starfighter jets used by the Dutch air force. Should that happen, the monarchy would fall to Juliana's daughter Beatrix, 38, and her husband, Prince Claus, 49.

What troubles many Dutchmen is that Beatrix and Claus are well known for their leftist political leanings. In fact, some people in The Netherlands are worried about a concerted leftist effort to turn the royal House of Orange into a kind of House of Pink.

So far, the three-man commission chosen to investigate the charges against Bernhard, who denies them, has made no report. Few would be surprised if the commission neither confirmed nor denied the allegations. After some initial restraint, the leftist press is hitting the Prince hard. The most venomous attack to date came last week from Communist Journalist Wim Klinkenberg, who charged that Bernhard had been a member of Hitler's SS. European gossip sheets have also been full of reports about his friendship with French Socialist Helene ("Poupette") Grinda, 32. There is no proof for any of these charges or innuendos.

Red Sergeant. A key anti-Bernhard propagandist is Willem Oltmans, a freelance journalist. Oltmans' chumminess with Soviet diplomats in The Hague has aroused the curiosity of The Netherlands' FBI, the BVD (*Binnenlandse Veiligheidsdienst*). Many believe that his anti-Bernhard allegations are part of a well-orchestrated program to swing public opinion in favor of abdication. Said one Dutch official: "If the KGB is not behind the campaign, then at least they must be delighted in Moscow."

As for Prince Claus and Crown Princess Beatrix, they have been rather cozy with Soviet Ambassador Anatoly Romanov since their visit to the Soviet Union in 1972. Romanov is a regular guest at Drakestein (the couple's chateau). German-born Claus, who once served in Hitler's army, has been labeled the "Red Feldwebel" (sergeant) by Conservatives and supporters of Prince Bernhard. At a recent diplomatic banquet in The Hague, Beatrix was overheard scolding



BEATRIX & CLAUS SKIING IN AUSTRIA
And a nonroyal friend named Romanov.

a foreign diplomat for his snide remarks about the Soviets' disastrous grain harvest. "Why," she said, "should one always emphasize the Soviet Union's shortcomings?"

One way of avoiding any immediate problem would be for Queen Juliana simply to refuse to abdicate. Constitutionally, no one can force her out. In fact, some believe she will remain on her throne no matter what happens in the current crisis. Since the monarchy in Holland has no formal power, would even abdication make much difference? There is already an anti-NATO trend within the Labor Party, which leads the governing coalition. Now, as one Dutch official puts it, "a pink House of Orange would perfectly suit the anti-Atlantic lobby in the Dutch government and Parliament."

Whatever happens in the long run, there is already widespread irritation over what many Dutch see as an effort by Moscow to turn the painful Bernhard affair to its advantage. Editorialized the conservative *Telegraaf* at the end of last week: "Do the Russians want us to get rid of Prince Bernhard? Are they more enamored of Claus and Beatrix because of their enthusiasm after their Russian trip? Gentlemen of the Soviet Embassy: keep your hands off our royal family and let the Dutch settle their own affairs."



TIME Map by Paul J. Pugh



MOURNERS JAM CATHEDRAL IN VITORIA FOR FUNERAL OF YOUNG MEN SLAIN BY POLICE

SPAIN

Death in the North

Not since Francisco Franco's death last November had the new regime of King Juan Carlos faced a grimmer spectacle of unrest than it did last week. The northern Basque province of Alava was in a vicious, rebellious mood. The provincial capital of Vitoria was completely shut down, and the industrial city's 180,000 inhabitants seethed with bitterness. Riot police sent in by the national government had shot dead three young demonstrators outside one of Vitoria's churches; at least 100 more citizens were wounded in the melee.

In unprecedented defiance of Madrid, Alava's provincial authorities declared themselves "profoundly disgusted by the government's acts." More than 30,000 people gathered for the slain men's funeral at the cathedral, where an angry priest thundered against the "brutal violence" of the police. While Vitoria mourned, workers in Bilbao, Pamplona and other Basque cities streamed off their jobs in sympathy, closing down hundreds of factories.

Years of Frustration. The fever of protest in Vitoria had been building for two months. Like workers all across Spain, the city's laborers gave vent to years of frustration after Franco's death. With the clergy's blessing, striking workers met in illegal assembly in the city's churches to air their demands for higher wages and their conviction that Madrid must yield more authority to local governments.

When some 5,000 workers descended on the big, modern church of San Francisco de Asis last week for just such a meeting, police ordered them to dis-

perse. They refused, and riot squads began lobbing tear gas and smoke bombs near—some say into—the church. In panic and anger, the crowd spilled out of windows and doors. The police shot into the crowd with small arms and machine guns; they contend that the workers attacked them. As news of the dead and wounded spread through the city, hundreds of people rioted, tearing down traffic lights, breaking shop windows and building barricades.

The Vitoria crisis was just the newest of many problems besetting Juan Carlos. The four Basque provinces in Spain's north are home to an enduring separatist movement. Similar regional discontent is brewing in Catalonia, where demonstrations last month paralyzed Barcelona on two successive Sundays and hastened the King's planned visit to the area. Apart from regional dissidents, who complain that Juan Carlos is not reforming Spain fast enough, there is mounting pressure on the King from diehard right-wingers who protest that he is moving too fast. The King himself seems to prefer moderate gestures: last week, on the very day of the fatal confrontation in Vitoria, his government had sent a bill to the Cortes that would make political assemblies legal.

As the citizens of Vitoria carried the coffins of the slain through their streets last week, one mourner warned darkly. "We want to know who is responsible for these things. It is not enough to have some resignations." As if to underline the widespread anger, Basque leftists and separatists vowed to continue work stoppages this week. Juan Carlos will not find it easy to appease that anger and to keep at bay those who feel the need to reimpose the old days of order and discipline.

BRITAIN

Icing for Harold's Cake

Just a single seat in Parliament was at stake in the by-elections in Coventry Northwest last week, but to British politicians the contest was pivotal. The Midlands city constituency had been Labor's, and the party's absolute majority in the House of Commons is only one seat. Laborites, moreover, had been quarreling hotly among themselves over a belt-tightening White Paper issued by the government last month, calling for billions of dollars of cuts in public spending (TIME, March 1). That was hardly a prospect to cheer a depressed industrial area like Coventry.

With recent opinion polls showing them pulling ahead of Labor nationally, Tory leaders swung heavy support behind Conservative Candidate Jonathan Guinness, 45, a personable but eccentric right-winger. The effort failed. Laborite Geoffrey Robinson, 36, a Yale-educated former manager of Jaguar Motors, was elected by a comfortable margin of 17,118 votes to 13,424. How did the Labor government manage to remain so strong despite the White Paper? TIME London Bureau Chief Herman Nickel cabled this analysis:

Coming on the eve of Prime Minister Harold Wilson's 60th birthday, the victory at Coventry was icing on his cake. Just a few weeks ago, he was facing incipient revolt from his party's left wing. The White Paper had warned that unchecked public spending would soon gobble up half of an average wage earner's salary in taxes. But to the left, the report's recipe for reducing spending sounded more like a Tory tract than a Labor manifesto. Said former Overseas Aid Minister Judith Hart: "The real struggle is not between the official opposition and the government, but between the Labor government and the Labor Party."

Class Enemies. The revolt was doomed, however, when the unions refused to join Jack Jones, powerful boss of the huge (1.8 million members) Transport and General Workers Union, denounced those "enemies of the working class" whose disloyalty might topple Wilson and usher in the Tories. The Coventry election, moreover, underlined the distance between the Laborite left and the grass-roots workers it professes to represent. The voters have not clamored, as leftist leaders have, for heavy expenditures to end unemployment. Even with 1.25 million jobless, politicians have found that their constituents complain more about inflation than about unemployment. This could change when benefits, which last for a year, begin to run out, but at least some workers are beginning to understand the connection between excessive government spending, inflation and unemployment.

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Brand V (Filter)	11	0.7
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Brand T (Filter)	11	0.6
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PRIME MINISTER HAROLD WILSON
Playing a waiting game.

tory, the pound dropped below the \$2 mark (to \$1.98½), but the event caused no panic. Confident that his anti-inflation policy has reduced the risks of a run on sterling, and anxious to promote exports (which are helped by a less valuable pound), Chancellor of the Exchequer Denis Healey seemed content to let the marketplace decide for itself what Britain's currency is really worth.

Psychological Clout. With his own rebels under control, Wilson is in no imminent danger from the official opposition, either. Winning Labor's seat in Coventry would have given the Tories considerable psychological clout, but not enough to try for a no-confidence vote that might force Wilson to resign and call for new elections. To swing that, the Tories would have to line up all the votes of the 13 Liberals, eleven Scottish and three Welsh nationalists, and the twelve Ulster M.P.s.

The party that currently most troubles Wilson is the Scottish Nationalists. Since the government's tepid proposals for "devolving" more power to the regions merely fanned the Scots' demands for more self-government, the Nationalists are still gaining support. If an election were held now, concedes a Wilson adviser, Labor would lose as many as 15 of its 41 Scottish seats to the Nationalists; the Scots would then hold the balance of power in Parliament.

That is just one more reason for Wilson to put off elections as long as possible—and if he can avoid a vote of no-confidence, he could wait until 1979. By that time, predicts one of his senior Cabinet members, the recovery of the economy should bring Scottish voters back into the Labor fold. It would not be the first time that the waiting game turned to Harold Wilson's profit.

THAILAND

Democracy in Danger

With its unrestricted press and open parliamentary system, Thailand is the most democratic state in Southeast Asia. But with parliamentary elections scheduled for April 4, a wave of political violence is gravely endangering the Thai democratic experiment.

Last week Dr. Boonsanong Punyod- yana, 39, the articulate, American-educated secretary-general of the Socialist Party, was gunned down in his car while returning home from a political meeting. Later in the week a bomb exploded at dawn in Bangkok's Rama VI Engineering School and killed three students. In all, there have been a dozen deaths related to the current election campaign.

Most of the violence appeared to be the work of the country's well-organized extreme right wing. The chief targets have been opponents of the country's still powerful military establishment, which ruled until 1973. Many Thais believe the right is now maneuvering to bring about a military coup. Military men are concerned about the country's strikes (25 major work stoppages last year), almost daily demonstrations and rumors of Communist subversion. Some talk openly of taking power. "This is a weak government, a corrupted government," says one businessman with intimate military contacts. "The longer you let it go on, the worse it will get."

The chief defender of Thai democracy is the country's sophisticated, aristocratic, Oxford-educated Prime Minister, Kukrit Pramoj, 64. The author of 36 fiction and nonfiction books and for 22 years an acerbic, nationally known newspaper columnist, Kukrit led an incredibly complex 17-party coalition government until January, when a controversy regarding the price of rice forced him to dissolve Parliament. During the ten months he was in power, he concentrated on building up the long-neglected countryside by increasing rice and sugar price supports, requiring banks to invest in local agrarian projects and pumping \$300 million in direct grants into rural subdistricts. Looking toward the elections next month, he hopes to gain enough new seats for his Social Action Party so that he will be able to create a stable and effective governing coalition.

To discuss the coming election, Kukrit met last week with *TIME* Correspondent William McWhirter. Sitting on the terrace of his large open house, he talked about Thailand's growing crisis and his own hope that Thai democracy can survive. Kukrit's views:

ON A MILITARY COUP: If and when the military think it their duty to intervene, then I'm out. I don't think I will have anything to do with it. But

THE WORLD

right now everything is under control and manageable by me. Don't worry. I know everything; I know everybody. I say this without the slightest trace of self-conceit. The whole sense of this country is that we must have legal and constitutional government. The moment has passed for government by the conquest of arms. A legal government is the only solution.

ON ASIAN DEMOCRACY: Democracy is the only reply from this country to the encroachments of Communism all around us. We cannot fight Communism by another kind of dictatorship. This would only play into the Communists' own hands. We must base our weapon on equal challenges and equal opportunity, the right to have individual choices and individual views. If we put away these things, we are lost.

ON CHANGE AND REFORM: China was too big to cure itself, so it had to change completely. But we are small enough to make manageable changes: the gap between rich and poor, social injustices, corruption. If you can reach these problems, society can cure itself, it is not all that impossible. Compared with China, Thailand is only a mouth with a canker sore.

ON HIS POLITICAL STYLE: Poverty, hopelessness, the glaring abundant luxuries of the rich compared with the poverty of the people who live next door—these are the seeds. I don't think about ideals. I'm just going around looking at things in my own country: the errors of poor administration, the corruption, the neglect of the people and the selfishness of everybody. I don't proselytize. I don't go around telling other people what to do. I try to do what most of the people seem to want done. I am able to comprehend what that is most of the time.

PRIME MINISTER KUKRIT PRAMOJ



AMC ANNOUNCES

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Red Star over Europe: Threat or Chimera?

Communism has sometimes succeeded as a scavenger, but never as a leader. It has never come to power in any country that was not disrupted by war, internal repression or both.

—John F. Kennedy, July 2, 1963

It is doubtful that an American President could confidently make that kind of statement today. In a handful of European countries, Communist parties are approaching the threshold of political power—not at the barrel of a Soviet cannon but in open and free elections. As a result, the specter of a Communist presence in Western Europe is stirring more concern and debate than at any time since the early years of the cold war, when the Marshall Plan, the Truman Doctrine and the Atlantic Alliance blocked Moscow's attempts to suborn democracy in France, Italy and Germany. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger broods about this new Red menace in background talks with newsmen and in conferences with aides and U.S. ambassadors, at which he has called the Communists the Trojan horses of totalitarianism and NATO officials meet secretly to discuss the Communist threat. The focus of the debate: How dangerous would it be if the Communists came to power and what should and could be done to prevent it.

The country most likely to vote Communists into office is Italy. Such an occurrence would greatly encourage the French Communists, who for almost four years have been closely allied with the Socialists. In Portugal, the Communists have been in the government since the 1974 coup, and Spain's Communists

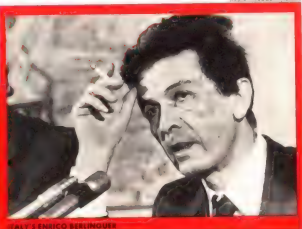
tatorship of the proletariat as well as the need for violent revolution. Instead, they claim to be committed to such democratic principles as political pluralism and freedom of speech and religion. Italian Party Boss Enrico Berlinguer—perhaps Western Europe's most articulate advocate of "socialism with a human face"—has often proclaimed his commitment to "a pluralistic and democratic system." He most recently and dramatically reaffirmed this in Moscow, at the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Is the "new look" of Communism genuine? Some political observers think it could be and argue that bringing Communists into Western governments might speed their conversion from revolutionary, potentially disruptive outsiders to evolutionary insiders. It might also widen the gap between the local parties and Moscow. The Soviets, in fact, do not conceal their irritation with the independence shown by some of their Western comrades. Soviet Party Boss Leonid Brezhnev recently complained that "some have begun to interpret [proletarian internationalism] in such a way that little is left to internationalism."

Some political analysts have argued that the Communist par-



FRANCE'S GEORGES MARCHAIS



ITALY'S ENRICO BERLINGUER

(though still underground) have formed a coalition with left and center groups.

The Communist gains are, to some extent, the result of local conditions. In Italy, for example, there is dissatisfaction with the flabby, scandal-ridden 30-year dominance of the Christian Democrats. Western Europe's Communist parties, though, have also benefited from the policy of détente with the Soviet Union. Just as the Russians are now said to be less threatening to peace, local Communists—who were long suspected by many voters because of their tie-in with the Kremlin—similarly seem less dangerous. Moreover, a new generation in the West is too young to remember the militantly Stalinist attitudes and often violent actions of Communist parties in both Western and Eastern Europe in the post-World War II years.

The Communists have deliberately tried to make themselves appealing to a wider spectrum of voters. The Italian and French parties have explicitly disavowed the old Marxian dogma of a dic-

ties would allow themselves to be voted out of office if and when the electorate rejected their programs. According to this argument, the Communists in Europe have clung to power illegally only when the Soviet army was at the border, ready to enforce a coup with armed might. But there is always the possibility that a Communist government in Western Europe might not need Russian help if it had firm control of the country's police and internal security forces and key segments of the armed forces.

The strongest argument in favor of allowing Communists to participate in Western governments is that neither the U.S. nor any other country has the right to block from office a party freely elected by the voters. This argument would have more validity if the Communists differed from other leftist parties merely in their programs. Yet history advises skepticism where Communists are concerned. Unlike Socialists, they have not sought the democratic evolution of a Marxian society; instead, until very recently they have always stressed the radical transformation of a society by authoritarian means.

For all their talk about democracy, the Communist parties themselves are closed and often conspiratorial societies. The Italian party, widely regarded as the paradigm of humanistic Communism, does not permit dissent to grow within the ranks. Decisions are imposed from above, and a political control commission enforces the orthodoxy of the moment. French Par-

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For the want of a shoe
the horse was lost,
For the want of a horse
the king was lost,
For the want of a king
the battle was lost,
For the want of a battle
the kingdom was lost,
And all for the want
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Some surprising observations from The National Observer

Imagine a possibly fatal drug for diabetics remaining on the market for over five years, while medical scientists and the Food and Drug Administration argue over how to word the package warning. The whole sad story recently appeared in The National Observer.

Did you know some scientists are convinced that much of human behavior is inherited and that each individual's genes influence and may even cause him to act the way he does? Professor Edward O. Wilson of Harvard explained why to Observer reporter Patrick Young.

It's enough to make you mad when you learn that last year a \$425,000 executive paid only \$1,200 in income taxes and a \$156,000 dentist paid no taxes at all. But according to Observer reporter William Lanouette, these examples are *not extreme*. The cause...many of the "shelters" favoring the rich which are built into our present tax laws.

If you're not careful in your selection of charities, the dollars you give will do very little to help the sick and needy. The National Observer found, for example, that some professional fundraisers pocket 80% to 90% of all contributions for their expenses and profits.

Whoever dreamed we'd see the day when we can practically bring back people from "death." Now a new technique has been developed that can bring cardiac victims without pulse or respiration back to life. The National Observer reports how average citizens in Seattle are being taught to do it.

Believe it or not, physical torture is still a common government tool to force information from dissidents or subdue the rebellious. And while nations are ready enough to denounce torture practiced by enemies, reporter Michael Malloy discovered that most, *including the U.S.*, look the other way when it involves allies.

THE ABOVE are examples of what National Observer reporters find when they start poking around.

It's not the sort of news you'd be likely to see in your daily paper...or find in slick magazines.

But it's the outgrowth of reporters who go after a journalistic question the way a dog goes after a bone. It results from a certain old-fashioned philosophy of exploratory journalism that doesn't let anything get by. And that's the kind of reporting that tends to turn up the most surprising news.

If you look at The National Observer, America's great weekly newspaper, you'll find that kind of reporting reflected in every article, on every page.

On national and international events we bring you more than the headlines.

- In addition to reporting how Indira Gandhi became dictator of democratic India, we explain the constitutional "loophole" which enabled her to do so.
- Instead of detailing the casualties resulting from the busing riots, we explain the logic of the opposing viewpoints and show how this is becoming the most explosive issue since Vietnam!

We report on today's social problems from the human point of view.

- A teenager is paralyzed by a bullet, a teacher is raped. Why is there so much violence today in good middle-class schools?
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ESSAY

ty Leader Georges Marchais has stated his belief in a democratic multiparty political system. Exactly what he has in mind, however, may not be reassuring. In 1974, for example, a French party congress praised the "democratic achievements" of the near-totalitarian regimes of Eastern Europe. No wonder Harvard Sovietologist Adam Ulam concludes: "Communist parties have always tried to maximize their power to the point where they would eventually achieve a one-party state." If progressive party leaders like Berlinguer are sincere, they still may not be able to deliver on their promises that their parties would observe the rules of democracy. Irving Howe, editor of the socialist quarterly *Dissent*, warns that in a moment of crisis "the old Stalinists and younger neo-Stalinists... could become a serious force pressing for an authoritarian solution."

The coming of Communists to power in Western Europe would have serious consequences for the Atlantic Alliance. If they do not force their countries to quit NATO, the Communists would probably fashion a foreign policy that favored the Soviet Union and undermined the alliance. To be sure, Western Europe's Communists are no longer under the Kremlin's thumb as they were in Stalin's days, but even Italy's Berlinguer, one of the West's most independent Communists, has repeatedly emphasized his party's historical "unbreakable ties of solidarity with Soviet Russia." Thus there is at least some danger that a Communist Cabinet member, for example, might take orders from Moscow and deliver up NATO secrets. A more likely prospect is that the presence of Communist party members in a NATO government would result in their country being kicked out of the alliance. There is no guarantee, moreover, that a Western Communist party currently independent of Moscow will always remain so. A change in leadership could push that party—and the country it ruled—into the Soviet orbit.

If Communist ministers did not take direct orders from Moscow or deliberately try to undermine NATO, they nonetheless would probably be unsympathetic to the alliance and would try to slash defense budgets even in the face of mounting threats of a Soviet buildup. In the long run, this could affect the East-West military balance upon which coexistence rests. The disparity of military might between the democracies and the East bloc might then lead to the "Finlandization" of Western Europe, producing a kind of neutrality that would be responsive to pressure from Moscow. In addition, the gains of Communism within the ever shrinking community of democratic nations would represent an ideological setback for the West.

A weakened NATO and a less credible American defense commitment to the alliance might prompt Bonn to reassess its security needs. One possible result: a more heavily rearmored West Germany, perhaps even with a nuclear deterrent. This would unsettle all of Germany's neighbors and might re-create the tensions that twice in this century sparked a general war. Short of this "worst case" scenario, the strategic balance still would probably shift decisively toward Moscow, since the Soviets could start drawing—undoubtedly, at favorable terms—on Western Europe's advanced technology and industry.

A strong case can be made that there are unacceptable risks to the West in allowing the Communists to come to power. But what, if anything, can be done about it? Washington has been pursuing a kind of quarantine policy, to deny

the Communists any claim to legitimacy: American diplomats in Europe maintain only minimal contact with local Communist politicians. Current U.S. policy seems to be that the most hard-lining ruling Communist parties represent the least threat to the strategic balance. At a closed-door meeting in London last December, a top Kissinger aide told European-based U.S. ambassadors that "overzealous" attempts to woo the East bloc countries away from Moscow might be counterproductive. The reason: pluralistic ferment there, like the 1968 Alexander Dubček experiment in Czechoslovakia, could lend respectability to Communists in the West.

Washington could provide sizable economic aid to European countries with growing Communist movements, to bolster existing regimes and help create strong economies that would lessen the Communists' appeal. Beyond this, however, there seems little the U.S. can do. Military intervention is out of the question so long as the Communists act legally. Any excessively muscular U.S. action runs the risk of a backlash, arousing popular sympathy for the Communists, because they would appear to be bullied by the Americans.

Action by Common Market states might be far more effective. Christopher Bertram, director of London's International Institute for Strategic Studies, suggests that tough political conditions could be attached to continued EEC support for the Italian economy—with an understanding that the present government, which excludes the Communists, stay in office until the next elections. Because of the vital importance of the Common Market to Italy's future, Bertram feels the impact of such conditions would be much more effective than any U.S. threats to read Italy out of NATO. Bertram's policy might also be applied to Greece and Spain, both of which hope eventually to gain full membership in the Market.

Beyond that, the established socialist parties of northern Europe could provide moral and financial help for their relatively weak ideological allies in the south—as they have, to some extent, with Mário Soares' Portuguese Socialists. Above all, the ruling non-Communist parties could and should undertake internal

reforms to become more appealing to the millions who vote Communist not because of ideology but as protest. These moderates must again demonstrate—as they did after World War II—that they are capable of responding to the aspirations of dissatisfied voters.

If diplomatic, political and economic measures failed to keep Communists out of a Western government, the U.S., and the rest of the West, could isolate that country by cutting off all but minimal economic and diplomatic relations. This, however, might lead to the kind of chaos that would justify the Communists in taking strong authoritarian measures.

A more advisable policy, at least initially, would be one of vigilant tolerance. Risky though it may be, the major Western countries should perhaps not interfere with Communist participation in Western Cabinets, if it comes, but instead give the party a chance to prove that its democratic protestations are genuine. At the same time, however, the West should make it unmistakably clear to the Communist party involved, and to Moscow as well, that any move to establish an authoritarian or pro-Soviet regime would not be tolerated. Appropriately tough action would then follow.

Burton Pines





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RELIGION

Out of the Box

Confession now in Room of Reconciliation. This provides both the traditional approach or face-to-face confession with the priest. The choice is yours

So reads a hand-printed sign in St. Paschal's Roman Catholic Church in Oakland, Calif. Similar notices have appeared—or soon will—in Catholic churches in the U.S. and round the world. They herald a quiet but significant revolution for Catholics, who will henceforth be allowed to choose between old-fashioned anonymous confession and the new face-to-face-style sacrament. While it will remain an option, as will the modified form of a screen set in an open room, the traditional cramped confessional box could gradually become a relic.

Rushed Sins. With the start last week of the penitential season of Lent, many priests began educating their parishioners in the revised sacrament of Penance—now also called the Rite of Reconciliation—that formally takes effect next year. Face-to-face confession—the last reform of the sacraments that stemmed from Vatican Council II—is intended to enable the penitent not only to confess specific sins but discuss spiritual failings and work out appropriate good deeds for penance. Traditional confession, by contrast, has tended to be a rushed recitation of sins and routine prescription of “ten Hail Marys” or “five Our Fathers.”

The new confession takes longer than the traditional rite—15 or 20 minutes v. five or so—and is more demanding for priests and parishioners. But where it has been tried, the option seems popular. While some older Catholics find the open style uncomfortable, many younger parishioners seem to feel, in the words of one California seventh grader, that “it makes much more sense than going in and talking to a wall.” Theologically, the old liturgy “evolved into a

rite of fear and guilt, emphasizing sin more than God's love and mercy,” says Father John Tivenan of St. Catherine of Sienna Church in St. Albans, N.Y. The new rite is “a celebration rather than an unearthing of shame.”

The new Penance also offers group services, but to be one of the seven sacraments, such rites must include time for worshipers to confess individually. The Vatican permits en masse sacramental confession and absolution only when there is an extreme shortage of clergy, as in mission lands or war zones.

The reform follows a drop-off over the past decade of 60% or more in individual confessions, once a weekly or monthly routine for the devout. Says Robert Burns, executive editor of *U.S. Catholic* magazine: “The church realized it had to do something—the situation was rapidly deteriorating.” Among the causes: the waning of the once common belief that confession must always precede Communion, and the spread of more liberal concepts of sin. Another Catholic editor, *Commonweal*'s John Deedy, believes the church is already “well down the road” toward elimination of individual confession. Whether those low-lit “reconciliation rooms” will prove him wrong remains to be seen.

Attack on Mother Church

Last December a curious nine-page letter landed in the mailboxes of Christian Science practitioners and local church leaders. It warned that the faith's Boston headquarters was rife with “gross mismanagement, inexperience and lack of Christian ethics.” Unless “the Field” demanded a housecleaning, the letter said, the religion could virtually disappear within a decade.

In the serenely authoritarian world of Christian Science, rarely had such a challenge been issued against officials of the Mother Church. Its author is Reginald G. Kerry, 62, a straitlaced former restaurateur and police- and fire-com-

mission member in Santa Barbara, Calif. and devout Scientist for 40 years. In 1973, Kerry came to the Boston headquarters as a consultant on security. He learned about other matters, however, and decided to tell all.

Attacking the optimistic generalities of official church reports, Kerry charged that the number of practitioners—healing counselors who are the closest thing to clergy in Christian Science—is less than half what it was 20 years ago. 500 churches and societies have disbanded since 1972, and 500 of the 3,000 that remain are on the brink of closing. Worldwide membership, he reported, is about 195,000, substantially less than previous outside estimates.

Bump Incomes. Kerry put much of the blame on officials. Troubled churches write in for help and their pleas go unanswered, he claimed, and devout practitioners receive abusive letters. The all-powerful five-member Board of Directors, he added, avoids urgent matters. Even so, he said, the directors are paid \$54,000 a year—appreciably more than the top executives of larger church groups—and are able to bump their average incomes up to \$100,000 a year with copyright and other income as trustees for the estate of Founder Mary Baker Eddy, as well as various additional fees.

The directors' cautiously crafted reply to recipients of the Kerry letter ignored some charges and insisted that others “verge on conscious dishonesty.” They said their annual incomes were “far less” than Kerry's \$100,000 estimate, but granted that financial reserves had been “seriously depleted” in order to build the Boston church center. Last week a spokesman added that the Kerry figures on membership and failing churches were distorted. Apparently undeterred, Kerry wants his fellow Scientists to demand a special investigation and insist on “an honest and thorough account” of church conditions at the annual June meeting in Boston.

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ELTON GLITTERING ON THE SOCCER FIELD

Outfitted in an orange and white soccer uniform—and mink warm-up coat—Glitter Rocker **Elton John** came to the Los Angeles Coliseum last week to greet his newest employee, **George Best**, 29, aging soccer superstar and flashy fixture on the British pub scene, had signed on with the L.A. Aztecs, the American team of which Elton is part owner. Best, who claims he is "better than Joe Namath in both sports that he participates in," bested Elton 5-1 in a quick scrimmage, then considered his chances for making a hit in the colonies. "We've got some good lads on this squad," mused George about the Aztecs, which finished third in their division last year. "We need, I think, a few more."

"I know a lot of people, but in this field you can't have too many friends," noted Ballet Dancer **Fernando Bujones** back in 1974. "To really trust someone, you have to be careful." Some of Bujones' colleagues probably wish they had been more careful as well. Florida-born Fernando, who turns 21 this week, has spent most of his time recently serving as supersubstitute to a trio of ailing defectors from Russia's Kirov Ballet: **Mikhail Baryshnikov**, who injured an ankle before his Toronto performance in *La Sylphide*; **Rudolf Nureyev**, who missed his Los Angeles production of *Raymonda* because of pneumonia; and **Valery Panov**, who pulled a calf muscle while performing his new ballet *Heart of the Mountains* in San Francisco. "I know



BALLET SUPERSUBSTITUTE FERNANDO BUJONES SETTLING INTO STARDOM

—and everyone says—I'm as good as the three of them," boasts Bujones, whose confidence suggests early Muhammad Ali. "I am the best American dancer."

He had wanted to do a TV gig with Actress **Mae West** for years, recalled Nostalgia Hound **Dick Cavett**. "But she always resisted, especially talk shows, which she thinks destroy a star's mystique." Mae's mystique stayed fully intact last week, however, during a six-hour taping session for Cavett's April TV special, *Backlot U.S.A.* "This is the kinda room I like, wall-to-wall men," growled la West, surveying the 50 male extras hired for the session. Mae, 83, sang *Frankie and Johnny* and other oldies, hugged herself suggestively, and then fretted: "I hope the television censors don't fool with that number. After all, I kept my clothes on."

"It was a memorable event, that fall day in 1929," writes Comedian **Groucho Marx**, recalling the publication of his first book. Titled *Beds* and based on his 1920s contributions to old college humor magazines, it was a string



CAVETT & WEST IN HOLLYWOOD



PEOPLE

of one-liners and double-entendres detailing uses and misuses of the mattress. It also sold like common stocks after the Crash. In fact, recalls Groucho, now 85, "during the next 40 years, people refused to have anything to do with beds. Whole families slept standing up." This month the author will try again with another edition of the book. The 1976 version will include a new introduction by the comedian and some snaps of Groucho in bed with friends like Comedienne **Phyllis Diller**, Actor **Burt Reynolds**, Actress **Valerie Perrine** and dog. As for those first-edition copies of *Beds*, "they have become a collector's item," insists Groucho, "that not even I can afford."

"Everyone in the business has their favorite disease or something," observed Comedian **George Carlin**, 38. So, accepting an invitation from the California Hell's Angels, who sponsor concerts at San Quentin prison, Carlin showed up to put on a free show for 1,000 inmates. Bowing to prison regulations against blue jeans on visitors ("They don't let you out if you show up in blues"), the comedian came with pastel pants, some off-color jokes—and a couple of semiclad go-go dancers recruited by the Angels. "They were a little reserved," said Carlin of his captive listeners afterwards. "But then, they're not in training as an audience for a comedian."

BURT PROPHETEERING IN LONDON

Billionaire **Howard Hughes**, master of the peek-a-boo lifestyle, has found a new hideaway, according to reports coming out of Mexico. Although some stockholders in one of his companies tried to have him declared officially dead last year, he is apparently alive and well enough to have moved from the Bahamas to the Acapulco Princess Hotel owned by Shipping and Real Estate Tycoon **Daniel Ludwig**, Hughes, 70, is reportedly paying \$10,000 a week for the top floor of the 19-story pyramid-shaped structure, where his digs include the penthouse, presidential suite, Roman baths, a board room and bedrooms with velvet-covered walls.

Her stage patter may have been on the gushy side, but the old footwork seemed as solid as ever during **Ginger Rogers'** opening at the Waldorf-Astoria in New York last week. "The amount of perspiration that comes off my brow would equal three sets of tennis," said **Ginger**, 64, who cavorts through *The Continental*, *Carrioca* and a songbook of other tunes from her movie days with **Fred Astaire**. Following a month of limbering up, and three months of rehearsals for her first nightclub appearance since 1958, **Ginger's** gams still looked golden to the opening-night crowd that gave her a standing ovation. Said she happily to her fans: "I wish I could freeze-dry you all and show you to my mom."

"I'm an atheist. I don't believe in a hereafter or a God," announced Actor **Burt Lancaster** in London. Or, evidently, in good timing, since **Burt's** remarks came just hours before a royal command performance of his movie *Moses*. Partly recycled from his six-part TV opus *Moses The Lawgiver*, the feature-length film shows the actor as bearded religious leader rather than dashing ladies' man. "Since I'm 62, that gets a bit embarrassing," Lancaster allowed, "although I am still susceptible to the charms of a 19-year-old girl. Like any man, I suppose, I'm still a bit of a 'dirty old man.'"

When he is not throwing temper tantrums, **Ilie Nastase** can play a mean game of tennis. Last week the rowdy Rumanian stopped complaining about linesmen long enough to trounce **Ken Rosewall** 6-0, 6-2, 6-2 at the Avis Challenge Cup competition in



GINGER SHOWING HER STUFF AT THE WALDORF

Hawaii—a \$10,000 victory that made him the fourth professional to win more than \$1 million on the tennis tour (the others: **Arthur Ashe**, **Rod Laver** and **Rosewall**). "I never count how much I make, only how much I spend," commented **Nastase**, who keeps a fancy flat and a Lancia and a Bentley in Brussels. Do his Communist countrymen ever fret over his capitalistic success? Says he: "Everyone is jealous if you have a lot of money."

Canadians who wanted one of their own countrymen to open the Olympic Games this summer have been grumbling ever since their government tapped Britain's **Queen Elizabeth** for the honor. Now, at least, they can claim victory in a minor skirmish over the Queen's visit. It seems that the royal yacht *Britannia*, which will carry Her Majesty to Montreal, has old-style lavatories that empty directly into the waves. Royal flush or no, that is a violation of the St. Lawrence Seaway's antipollution laws, ruled Canada's Ministry of Transport. Denying the Royal Navy's pleas for an exception, the Canadians then flew a modern pushbutton, chemical commode to London for inspection by Buckingham Palace. Not up to royal standards, huffed the Queen's advisers, who have decided to modify holding tanks—at taxpayers' expense—aboard the royal yacht.





CONDUCTOR MAURICE ABRAVANEL

Saints and Sinners

Great Falls, Mont., knows how to whoop it up for Johannes Brahms. After hearing the blazing final chords of the *Symphony No. 2 in D*, townspeople jumped to their feet in a shouting five-minute ovation. As the applause started to slacken, a rancher in a sheepskin coat shouted from the balcony: "Keep on clappin' and they'll keep on playin'!" So they did. When Conductor Maurice Abravanel, 73, and the 85 members of the Utah Symphony Orchestra responded with an encore from Handel's *Water Music*, the crowd in the renovated movie theater burst into cheers.

Such enthusiasm was an almost nightly occurrence as America's most mobile orchestra last week completed a ten-day, 1,200-mile tour crisscrossing the blizzard-swept Continental Divide to make music in Idaho and Montana. They log 15,000 miles annually, playing country churches, school gyms and movie theaters in the Rocky Mountain states. In April they will head east for a three-week tour of nine Midwestern states.

Home-Grown Product. The orchestra's popularity on tour is more than matched at home in Salt Lake City, where its twice-monthly concerts at the 5,200-capacity Mormon Tabernacle are always sold out. In December voters proved their affection by passing an \$8.7 million bond issue that will build a home for the orchestra. For the past 30 years, the Mormons have allowed the orchestra free use of the Tabernacle, the famed meetinghouse built in the 1860s under the eye of Brigham Young. The edifice

has been a mixed blessing: it has no lobby (late-comers must wait outside), no toilet facilities and no upholstery upon its hardwood benches. Its acoustics are very tricky: a tourist standing 200 feet away can hear a pin drop on stage, but the echo from the vaulted ceiling can be so bad that a new drummer once played the entire Ravel *Boléro* four beats late. The new arts center will be ready in 1978.

Abravanel's 29 years as music director in Utah is a tenure second among major orchestras only to Eugene Ormandy's 40 years in Philadelphia. Abravanel has built his orchestra gradually and carefully. "My musicians never give less than their best," he told TIME Correspondent Leo Janos. "They are not the equal, by far, of the personnel in the Philadelphia Orchestra. But they communicate. They say something." The product is mostly home-grown: 52 players are from Utah, about 70% are Mormons. Jokes Concertmaster Oscar Chausow, formerly with the Chicago Symphony: "I lead the most devout string section in the country."

Performers at the Tabernacle may not have to be totally devout, but behavior must be impeccable. Soprano Roberta Peters inadvertently caused a scandal once when she was served a cup of tea onstage during rehearsal; tea and coffee are forbidden the Mormons. So are alcoholic beverages. Pianist Jose

Iturbi narrowly avoided greater disaster when a bottle of Scotch broke on the floor of his Tabernacle dressing room. A kindly janitor cleaned it up, and kept his mouth shut.

Abravanel, a Jew who traces his ancestry to 15th century Spain, grew up in Lausanne, Switzerland, where his father was a pharmacist. The family lived in the house of famed Swiss Conductor Ernest Ansermet. "Stravinsky and Milhaud used to visit often," Abravanel recalls. "I played piano four-hands with Stravinsky as a lark." He went to Berlin to study with a brilliant young composer named Kurt Weill. In 1933 both men fled Nazi Germany for Paris. There, Abravanel became a ballet conductor, performing the premiere of the Balanchine-Brecht-Weill ballet-with-song, *The Seven Deadly Sins*.

Bunch of Cowboys. In 1936 Abravanel sailed for New York and, armed with letters of introduction from Conductors Bruno Walter and Wilhelm Furtwängler, got a job conducting at the Metropolitan Opera. He made his debut conducting Delibes' *Lakmé* starring Lily Pons. Two years later he quit to become Weill's music director on Broadway, conducting such classics as *Knickknack Holiday*, *Lady in the Dark* and *One Touch of Venus*.

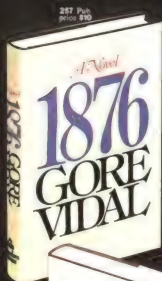
After nearly a decade on Broadway, says Abravanel, "I was 44, and I felt it was time to settle down. I wanted an orchestra of my own to play the classics." Salt Lake City offered him the job of conducting their community orchestra. Abravanel and his wife Lucy left New York for Utah in 1947, telling friends,

MEMBERS OF THE UTAH SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA ARRIVING IN HELENA, MONT.

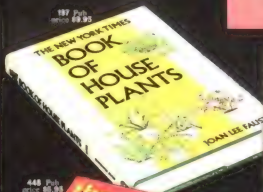


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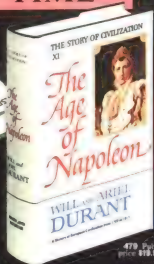
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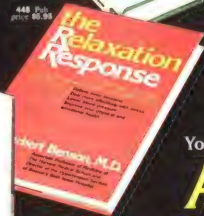
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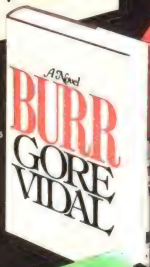
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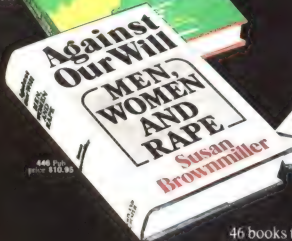
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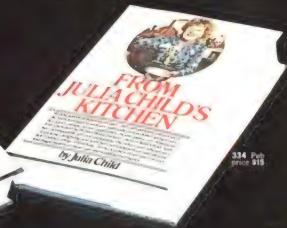
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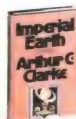
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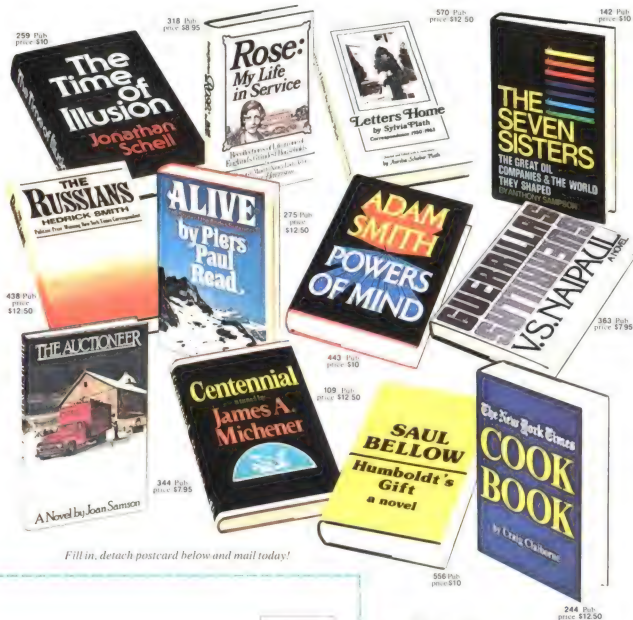
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unwisely as it turned out, that they
would be back in a year.

Not long ago Abravanel received a
call from some citizens of Dillon, Mont.,
inviting him to perform there. "We're
just a bunch of cowboys," he was told.
"Play anything you want." Replied
Abravanel: "I think you deserve the
best." Dillon was treated to Beethoven's
"Eroica" Symphony. After the first
movement there was an ovation. Abra-
vanel explained that the symphony had
four movements, so would the audience
please save the applause until the end.
The audience obediently counted; unfor-
tunately, there was only a slight pause
between the third and fourth move-
ments, so that when the symphony cre-
scended to conclusion, it was greeted
with silence.

Sing-Alongs. Wherever the orches-
tra travels, it is divided into two bus-
loads, one called the Saints (for non-
smoking Mormons) and the other the
Sinners (for tobacco-loving musicians).
The conductor, affectionately nick-
named "Big Mo" by his players, usually
travels by car, avoiding any show of fa-
voritism; although a non-Mormon, he
is also a nonsmoker. If constant trav-
eling does breed a unique togetherness,
it also reveals the peculiar schism be-
tween the Mormons and other members
of the orchestra. Aboard the Saints'
bus, the majority of passengers are wom-
en, mostly string players who have been
with the orchestra for years. Mormon
prayer books are much in evidence,
and hymn sing-alongs help to pass time.
With the Sinners, it is not only smok-
ier: the passengers are predominantly
men, many new to the orchestra, and
the talk tends to gripes about six-hour
bus rides to play a concert and union
negotiations with management. The
Sinners are aware that the Saints con-
sider them irreverent. "The Mormons
really think they are superior people,"
says a Sinner cellist. "They are polite
to us and pleasant enough, but we re-
ally don't mingle with them at all." The
biggest difference between the two bus-
es is the attitude toward the Maestro.
To the Saints, Abravanel is a revered
father figure. To the Sinners, he is a typ-
ical conductor—a dictator touched with
fanaticism.

Not all that typical. On his 60th
birthday, Abravanel announced to his
orchestra that he was giving them the
right to fire him at any time, by vote on
a secret ballot. "I have seen too many
of my colleagues in the arts who do not
know when to quit. It is really a sad
thing to witness, and I am determined
that this will not be my fate." That is
not to say that Maurice Abravanel
would like to be voted out. "Our reward
for this hard traveling is the reaction of
a small-town audience when it hears a
symphony orchestra for the first time,"
he says. "If I could choose how and
where to die, I would like it to happen
while conducting my orchestra in a
place like Dillon, Montana."

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ABANDONED APARTMENT BUILDINGS IN PHILADELPHIA



COVER
STORY

Americans

For some, the decision comes with a shock of disgusted recognition, like a less heroic version of Hemingway's Lieut. Henry bidding a farewell to arms by jumping into the frigid Tagliamento River.

The moment for Walter Matsinger arrived 2½ years ago, as he was stalled in a bumper-to-bumper traffic jam on his way home from work as a carpenter's apprentice in Philadelphia. "This is it," Matsinger said to himself. He knew that he had to leave the city, to flee its crime, its pollution and impersonality, its high social anger. Suddenly, he recalls, "the whole area where I grew up seemed old and drab." Bachelor Matsinger went home, packed and headed for the Southwest. Today he is happily settled in Tucson, Ariz., where he works as a mason's helper.

Others are less abrupt about making such geographical leaps; their urban grievances simply accumulate like a lowering smog: until one day they call the moving van. Scott Snowden, a graduate of Berkeley's law school, could have landed a job in one of San Francisco's better law firms. But Snowden found himself growing wearier and wearier of "the constant roar in the city, the intensity and impersonality of it." With his wife, he decamped to St. Helena, a tiny town in the Napa Valley wine country. He still earns less than \$15,000 a year, but he can fish for bass in the local ponds and at night hears only the calls of coyotes.

William Menzel, a dental lab-technician instructor, began making his decision back in Albany, N.Y., after he realized that "if you said hi to people on the streets, they thought you were going to mug them." He loaded up his wife and four children and headed for Cedar Rapids, Iowa, where, he says gratefully, "my wife can walk the dog at 2 a.m. without fear, and the kids haven't been mugged on the way to school or had their lunches taken away from them."

All of these people are examples of a special breed that is rapidly increasing across the U.S.: the new American migrants. They are pulling themselves up by their roots in order to pursue the good life in places that are smaller, sunnier, safer, and perhaps saner than those they left. Their desire to move onward has spawned an exodus that is causing major changes in American society. Because of the migration, many once great cities are falling into ever more serious decline; scores of little-known communities are either booming or feeling the pains of all-too-sudden growth (or both); and millions of Americans have profoundly altered their way of life.

Americans have always been a restlessly mobile people, but their new migratory habits are quite different from those of the past. There are three interrelated patterns of movement:

OUT OF THE BIG CITIES. Where once Americans thronged to the big cities and their immediate suburbs in search of jobs, education and excitement, they are now moving to smaller cities and towns. Between 1970 and 1974, over 1.7 million more Americans left the big metropolitan areas than moved into them. Through migration, the New York area alone lost half a million people more than it gained; similarly, Chicago lost a quarter of a million. Of the 16 metropolitan areas that have more than 2 million people each, eight have lost population since 1970. Besides New York and Chicago, they are Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Detroit, St. Louis, Pittsburgh and Newark. In 1973 and 1974 three others lost population: Boston, San Francisco and Long Island's Nassau-Suffolk. Significantly, the big suburbs are no longer growing as fast as they did in the 1960s. Some, like New Jersey's Bergen County and New York's Westchester County, have lost population since 1970.

TO THE COUNTRYSIDE. After declining for most of this century, the nation's rural areas since 1970 have been growing faster than its urban areas. The Census Bureau defines metropolitan areas as those counties that have cities of 50,000 people or more; counties with no communities of that size are predom-

GUNSHOT VICTIM IN SAN FRANCISCO

on the Move

inantly rural. In the West, remote counties had a total growth of 9.2% between 1970 and 1974—compared to the national average of 4.8%. During that period, Mississippi and Alabama had a net migration into their states—a surprising reversal. In the Northeast, New Hampshire grew by 10.9%, Maine by 6.6% and Vermont by 5.9%. Among the fastest-growing areas: western Arizona, the western slopes of the Rockies, the Ozarks, sections of the northern Great Lakes states.

TO THE SOUTH AND SOUTHWEST. Americans are rapidly leaving the Northern and Eastern regions, the old industrial quadrant from St. Louis and Chicago to Philadelphia and Boston, and increasingly heading toward the South and West. Between 1970 and last year, 2,537,000 people migrated from the Northeastern and North Central states to the Southern and Western states. The fastest-growing states in the nation are Arizona, Florida, Nevada, Idaho and Colorado. By far the nation's fastest-developing new boom region is the Sunbelt—the lower arc of warmlands stretching from Southern California to the Carolinas.

These new migrations suggest a major change in Americans' expectations—what they want from their careers and communities and what they are willing to give up to get it. Says Pollster Louis Harris: "Most Americans don't want more quantity of anything, but more quality in what they've got."

In such impulses is a certain chastened spirit, a feeling—no doubt a residue of the manic '60s—that smaller and quieter home pleasures are more important than acquisitiveness and ambition. This is not necessarily an edifying spiritual development in America so much as a self-interested calculation that a 90-minute commute or a triple-bolted apartment door is not worth the trouble if one can escape. The ethic suggests that bigness is no longer better, that mere dollars do not mean a more satisfying life, that success is more a matter of enjoying where one is than of moving ahead. Those sentiments, of course, can carry a troubling complacency. The frankly escapist note is one theme of some of the new migrations—a kind of premature retirement, a dropping-out. That is a sweet and organically grown estimate of life, but in some cases it smacks of elitism gone to the country for the cure. Many are migrating, however, for somewhat opposite reasons. They find that in the smaller cities and towns there is more scope for their ambition, more room for competition and expansion.

"In a way it is certainly a middle-class migration," says Queens College Political Scientist Andrew Hacker. "Those who are moving out are looking for a kind of middle-class subcountry, a place where it is safer, and where there is more predictable service, and where the school system is less problematic."

Crime is the most obsessively mentioned reason for leaving the cities. Almost all of the migrants tell horror stories of muggings just up the street, of houses burglarized, of children exposed to drugs. Overcrowded schools, pollution and noise are driving many out. So are heavy taxes and high costs of living.

Beneath the migrants' vision sometimes lurks a disturbing undercurrent of racial aversion, an unspoken desire to get away from the increasingly black urban centers. Some blacks, of course, are fleeing the cities just as fast as whites. William Hart, just retired as an official in the Job Corps program, moved a few months ago from The Bronx to the New York suburb of Greenburgh. Says he: "With the passing of time, the community changed. It wasn't safe to leave home any more, and we were broken into three times." But as Rand Corp. Demographer Peter Morrison warns, there is a danger that U.S. society "is dividing into those who can buy the new life-style and those who are left. A lot of people will simply be relegated



LANDSCAPING A GARDEN ON OUTSKIRTS OF TUCSON



ART GALLERY IN FORT COLLINS, COLO.



TENDING GOATS AT COMMUNITY SCHOOL IN WOODVILLE, VA.

MODERN LIVING

to those empty holes, the urban cores." University of Chicago Sociologist Philip Hauser says bleakly that "the country is heading toward an apartheid society."

Historically, there were ample reasons why Americans swarmed into the cities; country and small-town life could be difficult and dull and remote. In *Main Street*, Sinclair Lewis called the small-town existence "dullness made God . . . the contentment of the quiet dead." But rural and small-town life has been modernized and is no longer stuffily isolated. The interstate highway system, 88% complete, brings most of the remoter regions to within an hour or two's drive of a city. Jet planes and a growing number of airports provide similar ease of access to the outside world. Television pipes its news and entertainment into the countryside. Along with lesser fare, *Live from Lincoln Center* can now be seen across the country without going to New York and paying the price (up to \$25) of a ticket. Universities have opened branches and hundreds of two-year community colleges have sprung up in small towns, injecting a new cultural life. In short, urbanity is no longer necessarily tied to urban life. As Political Analyst Richard Scammon says, "We have expanded the area in which civilized people can live."

Although the pattern of the new migrations scarcely suggests a rebirth of rural primitivism, some of those recoiling from the city have settled into rustic and often difficult lives far from urban civilization. The late '60s rural communes persist in Vermont, New Hampshire, California, Colorado, New Mexico and elsewhere. Many city-bred farmers have discovered that Dwight Eisenhower (scarcely a guru) was right when he remarked that "farming looks mighty easy when your plow is a pencil and you're a thousand miles from the cornfield."

Osteopath George Moore and his wife Nancy moved from Buffalo four years ago to the northern Maine community of Oxbow (pop. 72). With their friends Buddy and Ginny Swenson, they bought 150 acres of land and set about building two houses for themselves. They remember the fierce black flies in the summer and the rug hung in the doorway to keep out the cold in the fall. They had no electricity, TV, telephone or running water. The Swensons drilled a well. When money ran low, both women picked potatoes even though they were pregnant. The youngest Swenson child was born in the family car by the side of the road on the way to a hospital in Presque Isle, 40 miles away. Eventually, the couples moved to nearby Marsdiss. Dr. Moore began practicing in the area, and Swenson found work teaching at the University of Maine at Presque Isle. Financially pressed, the Swensons came into an inheritance, which may account for their staying on. Often an outside income is crucial—as Robert Frost foresaw when he wrote:

*Well, if I have to choose one or the other,
I choose to be a plain New Hampshire farmer
With an income in cash of say a thousand
(From say a publisher in New York City).*

But the hardships have been worth it, the couples testify. "We're closer knit and healthier than we would be in a city," says Moore. The food at the evening meal is usually from the family garden—they eat meat only about twice a month. Says Swenson: "I wanted to be economically independent of the 40-hour week. I wanted out of the pollution and overcrowding. I found the wilderness aspect of northern Maine just what I was searching for."

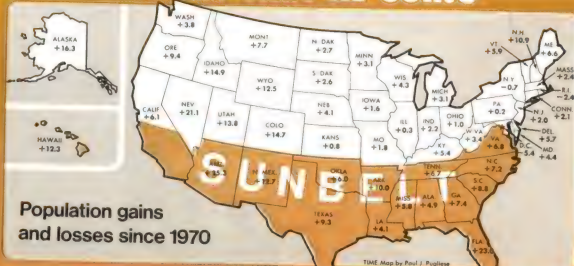
More typically, the migrants are looking less for a life out of Thoreau than a life out of, say, Booth Tarkington or Norman Rockwell—equidistant from the brutalities of the city and the brutalities of nature. Neil Carey, a refugee from Los Angeles, believes that he has found that golden mean in Lexington, Ky. (pop. 187,200). Lexington, with a 16% growth rate since 1971, is Kentucky's boom city—yet it is also a delightful mixture of old residential neighborhoods, a renovated downtown, a state university and a low (4.5%) unemployment rate. A clinical social worker, Carey, 37, and his wife Karen, 35, detested the rootlessness and aimless energy of Los Angeles. Says Carey: "People were always moving, moving, moving. Every promotion or raise seemed to mean a new car, new house, new friends."

The Careys, living on a much reduced income, have gladly settled for a more modest style of life—one five-year-old Dodge, a \$15,000 house that they have renovated, an occasional movie and dinner out, camping, and work in the Unitarian Church. Also, says Carey, "I've been to city council meetings here. I'd never been to the city council in L.A. And here I feel as if I and my children can grow with the town and develop along with it."

A rising phenomenon is the return to small towns of natives who had left years ago to seek their fortunes in the cities. Don Schaff, 38, had left his native McCook, Neb., for Chicago and a job in advertising. Five years ago, depressed by crime and what he calls "the treadmill to oblivion," he returned to the southern Nebraska town. He took a job for a time as a \$90-a-week radio announcer, but now is out of work. Despite that setback, he hopes that he will never have to leave McCook again. "I'm here till I'm a little old man with a gray beard," says Schaff.

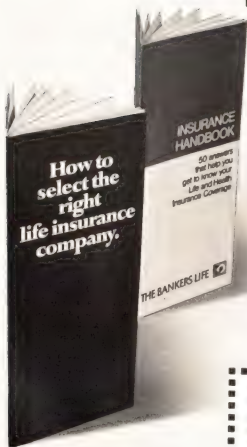
Others, like Arnold Berman, 45, have spent most of their lives in big cities and are taking a calculated gamble on small-town life. Unhappy with Los Angeles, where he worked as an executive for an aerospace company, Berman and his wife picked

WHERE THEY'RE GOING



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WOMAN BLACKSMITH IN MONTROSE, COLO.

up three years ago and moved to Lawrence, Kans. He has earned a law degree from the university there and is now in private practice. Says he: "It's amazing how quickly you can make friends, and things seem to work better here. There is more concern for local rather than national problems, more of a feeling of isolation, like those terrible things are happening a long way away."

Dr. Suzanne Graham, a San Francisco anesthesiologist, found her haven in the lovely Victorian city of Santa Rosa, about 60 miles north of San Francisco. Santa Rosa's population has doubled to 60,000 in the past 15 years, but the city, nestled in the California wine country, has maintained a small-town flavor. Last year, caught up in the malpractice-insurance crisis and the standard aggravations of the city, Dr. Graham took a job at a Santa Rosa hospital and found a small house in what used to be an olive grove. Among other things, she has discovered that because a small town allows closer relations between doctors and patients, the risk of malpractice suits is much smaller.

"I would never go back to the city," she vows. "In San Francisco you have a sense of the deteriorating quality of life. All the civility of that city is gone. I had to be escorted to the hospital parking lot when I worked late at night." In the city she found some serenity in transcendental meditation. In Santa Rosa she hardly needs it at all.

Chester and Rhoda Bernie went to Santa Rosa recently from Los Angeles, where he sold insurance for years. In L.A., says Bernie, "there were fights on the street and parents didn't care. Our kids at school got beat up and their money taken away. But that kind of thing doesn't happen here. Kids play, but there is no violence." In Santa Rosa, the Bernies have absorbed more culture than they ever did in Los Angeles. The community turns out solidly to support the semiprofessional 75-member symphony orchestra. When Angela Davis or Jack Anderson speaks at the local college campus, it is an event; everyone comes.

"Taking the time" is a constant theme of city people moving to small towns. They are almost bewildered that the townspeople have the time, and are willing to use it, to be helpful. After Mrs. Bernie made only two visits to the local Sears, Roebuck store, a clerk remembered her name, her children's ages and clothing sizes. Other assets: fruit and vegetables bought from neighboring farms, including a wonderfully fresh local apple juice. Down in Los Angeles, says Bernie, "socially you had to have a swimming pool. Here everyone goes to the Y." In Los Angeles, "you could never get away from the freeway roar. Here, there is silence. And you see the stars when you go out at night."

Many of the migrants are following the job market as more and more companies depart the cities. Since 1970, employment in all major industries except government has grown at a faster rate in rural counties—which include towns and small cities—than in large urban areas. Again, most of the movement is to the South and West. New York's Fantus Co., which advises corporations seeking to relocate, figures that those regions will account for 55%-60% of the new manufacturing employment over the next year. One reason: more than half of all new plant construction and expansion has been going on in those areas instead of the populous North and East. Fantus Chairman Leonard Yaseen expects the industrialization of the Sunbelt to accelerate "because as the plants in the Central States and the Northeast become more and more antiquated, management will think twice before constructing facilities in those areas."

Industries have moved into the South and Southwest in part because taxes are relatively low, unions relatively weak, heating and other maintenance costs modest. Three years ago Electro Corp., a manufacturer of electronic controls for industry, moved from Niles, Ill., to Sarasota, Fla. Chairman Richard Crossley found that taxes and plant costs were considerably lower in Sarasota, that his payroll was 15% smaller because of a lower wage scale, that the productivity of his workers was higher. Electro brought 14 key people and their families from the Chicago area and started up anew. Says Crossley: "Only one person was hesitant about moving, and he has turned out to be the biggest Chamber of Commerce man in Sarasota. There's no state income tax, no estate tax, a 4% sales tax v. 5% in Illinois." Crossley now sails a 16-ft. sloop, has fewer colds and, when he consults the books, is happier still: the company has been more profitable.

The newest corporate convert to Sarasota is Snelling & Snelling Inc., the nation's largest employment agency (525 franchises, \$40 million in revenues). Chairman Robert O. Snelling weighed corporate taxes, plant cost and maintenance before moving from the Philadelphia area. "Why be in Philly," he asks, "with the rotten weather, the rotten taxes and everything else? It's beautiful here." Roughly the same logic applies throughout the Sunbelt. The W.A. Krueger Co., one of the larger printing firms in the U.S., moved a year and a half ago from the chill Milwaukee area to Scottsdale, Ariz. Says one company official: "We all feel we have significantly improved our life-style."

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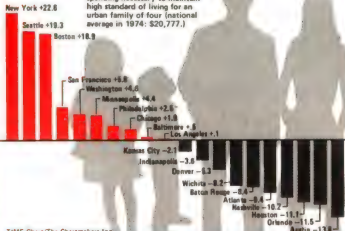
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LIVING COSTS

Percent above and below average spending necessary to maintain high standard of living for an urban family of four (national average in 1974: \$20,777.)



TIME Chart/The Chartmakers Inc.

the South and West jumped from 75 in 1964 to 112 in 1974. Yet the movement to smaller cities takes in all regions. The Book-of-the-Month Club has relocated its operations from New York to Camp Hill, Pa.; General Electric's corporate headquarters is now in Fairfield, Conn.; the Simmons Co. moved from New York to Norcross, near Atlanta; and Greyhound changed its headquarters from Chicago to Phoenix.

Employees who made the move are usually happy with their new lives. Others who relocate on their own often have to take pay cuts, but in most cases they find that the dollar goes further. People in the South and West spend comparatively less for taxes, housing, fuel, clothing and most services. The Bureau of Labor Statistics estimates that the cost of maintaining a high standard of living for a family of four in New York City is 33% higher than in Houston or Nashville. Air conditioning has made the long, hot summers bearable. And for some people, the way of life—a moderate climate, plenty of outdoor activity, the residual Southern graces—is an attractive alternative to the iron chill of the North.

Accountant Ed Kraujalis and his wife Mildred, both 27, left New York City a year ago for Cape Coral, Fla., a community that did not exist in 1960 and still does not show on most maps.

Now it has 24,000 inhabitants. The Kraujalises paid \$4,500 for a lot on a canal and have started work on a \$33,000 house. Terms: 20% down and a 6.5% mortgage. "It would have cost twice that to build the same house in New York City," says Kraujalis. So many other people have discovered Cape Coral and nearby communities that the Fort Myers area, of which it is a part, is the nation's fastest-rising community. Since 1970, population has grown more than 46%, and it is now 154,000.

Temple, Texas, is another fast-growing community. Sixty plants have opened in the area, in part because the city (pop. 41,500) lies at the hub of a wheel with spokes extending to Dallas, Fort Worth, Houston, Austin and San Antonio. Some of the residents there feel as if they are part of a migration within a migration. "My wife would slit her throat if we had to move back to Houston," says Gene Bishoff, manager of the 700,000-sq.-ft. Western Auto Supply distribution center. At first she did not want to leave Houston, where they had lived for 25 years, but now, says Bishoff, "we feel like we've died and gone to heaven. We love it here. The people, the friendliness, the ease of doing business. The class and caliber of people you get to work for you is so much better."

Some political analysts believe that the growth of population and economic power in the South and Southwest portends a dominance of Sunbelt conservatism in the nation. One proponent of the theory is Social Historian Kirkpatrick Sale, author of *Power Shift, The Rise of the Southern Rim and Its Challenge to the Eastern Establishment*. Sale argues that the Sunbelt is becoming the increasingly influential repository of "the three Rs"—rightism, racism and repression.

That is an especially simplistic—and insulting—theory of regional determinism. Deservedly, the Sunbelt is making itself heard more on the national scene. Half of the declared presidential candidates are from the Sunbelt, but they range across the political spectrum from conservative to moderate to very liberal: California's Ronald Reagan, Alabama's George Wallace, Georgia's Jimmy Carter, Arizona's Morris Udall, Oklahoma's Fred Harris and, until they dropped out, Texas' Lloyd Bentsen and North Carolina's Terry Sanford. After the 1980 census, if the current population shifts continue, the states of the South and West will increase their total congressional representation from 210 to 225 seats. The states of the Northeast and Midwest will lose 15 of their seats, declining to 210. Yet the old Southern conservatism is losing some of its

NEW SIMMONS CO. HEADQUARTERS ON THE BANKS OF THE CHATTAHOOCHEE RIVER IN NORCROSS, GA.





A LONELY SIGN IN A FIELD NEAR SMITHVILLE, TEXAS (POP. 2,959) MAY BE PROPHETIC IF MIGRATION TO THE SUNBELT CONTINUES. It is the last march of expansionism, the old American idea that all mistakes are cancelled by the horizon, by moving out.

force, for reasons that have to do more with actuarial necessity than with migration. The Southern barons in Congress, the men re-elected term after term so that they could use the seniority system to maintain power, are retiring or dying off. Most of the leaders of the potent Senate committees are from far outside the Sunbelt: Humphrey of Minnesota, Muskie of Maine, Kennedy of Massachusetts, Church of Idaho, Proxmire of Wisconsin.

If Americans are growing more conservative, that cannot be blamed on just one region. The political views of Americans depend far more on their occupations and on their racial and ethnic backgrounds than on where they live. Political Analyst Scammon, former director of the Census Bureau, observes: "If a plumber decides to move from East Orange, N.J., to Galveston, Texas, he is likely to continue voting the way he has been voting, assuming he continues to work as a plumber in Galveston." The newcomers tend to bring their political baggage with them.

In many ways, the migrants from the North and the East are helping to alter the character of the South, which is becoming both more sophisticated and more homogenized. On the whole, Yankees who move there find themselves welcomed, mostly because they bring new money, skills and opportunity with them. At the same time, the South is changing the carpetbaggers in a number of respects. Sometimes there is no Southerner more given to Southern style and sense of place than the Confederate from, say, Chicago—the Yankee Good Ole Boy.

Whatever economic advantages they bring, however, the newcomers sometimes threaten to perpetuate in new territory many of the offenses of urban sprawl around the big cities. Especially in many communities of the Sunbelt, oldtimers have grown bitterly aware that the massive invasions have overloaded public services, overwhelmed police and fire departments, water supplies and sewage systems.

The 29 new "developer cities" just to the west of Fort Lauderdale have encountered the dark underside of extravagant growth. The recent recession slowed the boom, leaving the skeletons of half-completed communities and a number of bankrupt builders. Now, says Fort Lauderdale Mayor E. Clay Shaw, "we have gone to enforced land-use planning at the county level. We've put population caps on certain areas. We've stopped bargaining among landowners. There have been some building moratoriums because of overworked sewerage facilities."

Scottsdale, Ariz., which has had a population growth of 25% in the past five years, is trying to slow development. To control the often haphazard designs of businesses, apartments and condominiums, the town now requires that a development review board approve all buildings except single-family homes. Mayor William Jenkins likes to speak of this deliberate slowdown as "the Scottsdale syndrome—let's let the town remain the same as it was when I came here." Similarly, Petaluma, Calif., a small agricultural community that has grown by nearly 50% in the past eight years, recently won a legal battle over its fairly new policy of slow, planned growth instead of wide-open development.

Another and in some ways more urgent problem is what the new migrations are doing to the big industrial cities, especially those of the Northeastern quadrant. They are hemorrhaging. Economist Thomas Muller of the Urban Institute in Washing-

ton lists nine "municipal danger signals." Among them: substantial long-term outmigration, loss of private employment, high debt service, high unemployment, high tax burden, increasing proportion of low-income population. The cities displaying those danger signals are Buffalo, Boston, Cleveland, Detroit, Newark, New York, Philadelphia and St. Louis. Others that are better off but still in trouble are Cincinnati, Chicago, Baltimore, Pittsburgh, New Orleans, San Francisco, Milwaukee and Seattle.

It is possible to be too apocalyptic about the big cities' prospects. They still have tremendous force, and the bulk of the nation's industry and financial power. But the migratory trend is disturbing to people who have a stake in the big old cities. The automobile has in many ways rendered them obsolete. Along the highways circling them have arisen "ring cities," shopping centers, medical complexes and the rest, which provide the services that long gave the central city its *raison d'être*.

For the big cities, the cycle is as depressingly vicious as it is familiar. Businesses decamp: the young, the middle class, the skilled, the well educated flee; the tax base erodes. So taxes go even higher, driving out still more productive, wage-earning families. Says George Stierlieb of Rutgers University's Center for Urban Policy Research: "We have no experience in shaping decline. No graceful way of shrinking a city. We don't know what to do with people left in a city for whom there are no job opportunities." Although the solutions are elusive, it is clear that the cities would be helped by an expanding economy and by a federal takeover of budget-busting social services, mainly welfare.

While cities struggle with their problems, the receiving areas of the Sunbelt and the countryside do need not some grand federal plan but a cooperative effort among citizens, business and local government to assure sensible and orderly growth. Without that, the shelf life of the new American life-style could wind up being roughly that of a Big Mac. Careful zoning will help, of course, along with a willingness to tax the people sufficiently to pay for necessary public services. As taxes rise, the flow of new migrants may decrease. A dilemma is that those rising taxes will place increased burdens on the many retired people, living on fixed incomes, who have deliberately selected the smaller communities for their moderate cost of living.

The U.S. is more than ever a nation of immigrants, and the new, internal migration is a pursuit, as much psychological as geographical, of the remaining pockets of Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier. The migration is also the last march of a kind of expansionist privilege: the old American idea that all mistakes are canceled by the horizon, by more room, by moving out. Great population movements are hardly unique in a nation that was built by its restless energy. Never before, however, have so many Americans been able to change their lives quite so quickly, and to base their decisions about where to live on the amenities they desire. Americans undoubtedly will continue to make such choices well into the '80s. The age group that likes to move the most is between 25 and 29. Since the peak year for births in the U.S. was 1961, when 4,350,000 children were born, the biggest outward surge is yet to come.

Simple facts everyone who owns a home, car or business should know

How to Get the Best Insurance Buy for Your Money.

The best way to get a true bargain on insurance is to shop for it. But there are more than three thousand companies selling insurance policies to protect homes, cars and businesses, and it isn't practical for you to check each and every one.

That's why it's a good idea to consult an independent insurance agent. An independent agent does not work for an insurance company. He works for you. Which means he can plan the coverage that protects you best. And then place it with the most suitable of the several insurance companies he deals with.

Many people make the costly mistake of assuming that insurance policies are all the same. The truth is, they are not. Not only does the quality of coverage vary from policy to policy, but the cost often varies too.

Remember that price is not the only basis for selecting your coverage. A company's reputation for service and claims payment is critical.

And if you have a claim, your in-

dependent agent is in a position to support you. To be on your side in helping you obtain a just, equitable settlement. Promptly.

Because he is a self-employed local business man, an independent agent knows his responsibility is to his customers. His success is based on serving his customers in three key areas:

1. He provides the best insurance coverage at the lowest true cost to you.
2. He is available day and night to respond to your needs.
3. He handles all types of insurance, and deals through strong, reliable companies.

To make sure you have an independent insurance agent on your side, look for this symbol or consult your Yellow Pages. If he can't help you, nobody can.



Independent Insurance
Agents of America, Inc.

Who Is a Public Figure?

In matters of libel, public figures are not as other mortals, according to the U.S. Supreme Court. In a series of cases since 1964, the court has ruled that a public figure cannot collect libel damages without proving that "actual malice" was involved in the publishing of inaccurate and defamatory material. Actual malice, said the court, means publishing with knowledge that a statement is false or with "reckless disregard" of whether it is false or not. The average person, on the other hand, must show only that the publisher of such material was guilty of "some type of fault," as would be found in a negligence case. The point, the court said, is to accommodate the First Amendment by giving publishers some legal "breathing space" in reporting on public figures.

But who exactly is a public figure? The high bench has recently taken a narrow view of the definition, and last week, it did so again. In 1967 Millionaire Russell A. Firestone Jr., now 49, finally won a Florida divorce from his third wife, Mary Alice Firestone, now 40, after a much publicized trial that went on intermittently for 17 months. *TIME* reported in MILESTONES that his divorce had been granted on grounds of "extreme cruelty and adultery." But while the judge's decision did allude to claims of extramarital escapades by both partners, he did not clearly identify the grounds. Mrs. Firestone was awarded alimony, which Florida law bans if the grounds for a divorce include adultery. She sued *Time* Inc. for libel

and won a jury verdict of \$100,000 for her mental anguish and suffering.

But she did not prove the magazine had acted with "actual malice." The publisher therefore asked the Supreme Court to throw out the libel judgment because the Palm Beach socialite was a public figure who was often in the newspapers, subscribed to a press clipping service, and even held press conferences during the long divorce fight. William Rehnquist, joined by four other justices, was unpersuaded. Mindful of the public "need for judicial redress of libelous utterances," Rehnquist held that Mrs. Firestone "did not assume any role of especial prominence in the affairs of society, other than perhaps Palm Beach society, and she did not thrust herself to the forefront of any particular public controversy in order to influence the resolution of the issues involved in it."

Rehnquist also declined to require the "actual malice" test in all cases involving coverage of judicial proceedings. The majority did send the case back to Florida courts for a determination on whether the magazine had acted "with fault." Meanwhile, journalists everywhere are now on notice that people who attract the sort of public interest that does not involve a true "public controversy" will be treated under libel law just like the average private citizen.

Briefs

► Business had been rippingly good, so the proprietor of P.F.F. Inc., a front for a fencing operation in Washington, D.C., decided to throw a party for customers to celebrate five months of successful traffic in stolen goods. But to the dismay of the purse snatchers, car thieves and assorted other heist artists who showed up for the blast, P.F.F. Inc. turned out to stand for Police-FBI Fencing Incognito, the largest and most successful undercover undertaking in the city's history. Last week when the party was over, 126 people had been arrested, among them an assistant federal prosecutor accused of taking bribes to protect the fences. During the five months, undercover police had paid \$67,000 for \$2.4 million worth of stolen goods; the take included cars, stereos, TV sets, firearms, 140 typewriters, a bundle of Government checks worth \$1.2 million, 1,500 credit cards, a truckload of 300 hijacked air hockey games and a heart-lung resuscitator. The police and feds had video-taped every transaction, and even got the unsuspecting sellers to show drivers' licenses or other identification. ("We told them we had to be sure who we were dealing with," said one officer.) The imaginative ploy, which was similar to one in New York City a year ago, paid an added dividend: many of the customers tried to impress the supposedly



OFFICERS CHECK WASHINGTON MAUL
The party was a bust.

Mafia-connected fences with tales of crimes they had got away with. Their boasts—plus the loot—have led to 10,000 investigations including murder, bank robbery, hijacking and mail theft.

► When the three young men returned to their Brooklyn apartment after a night of drinking in 1973, an argument ensued over when Joseph Bush would pay his share of the rent. Bush pulled a .38-cal. revolver and shot Michael Lawrence Geller three times in the chest. Bush then allegedly threatened Melvin Dlugash, who Bush feared would be a witness unless he, too, were involved in the crime. So Dlugash fired five shots into Geller's head from his own .25-cal. pistol. Bush drew five to ten years after pleading guilty to manslaughter, but Dlugash went to trial and got up to life. Last week an appeals court decided that Dlugash should go free because the prosecution had not proved "beyond a reasonable doubt" that Geller was still alive when Dlugash fired his own potentially fatal bullets.

► New Jersey Receptionist Marlene Blum was not amused. Seven fellow employees at North Jersey Lithographers had hired one of those professional pie-throwing agencies to hit Mrs. Blum with one of their confectious last May. Mrs. Blum hit back, pressing charges against the two pie-pitchers, who pleaded guilty to assault and were fined \$50 each. The pie-galld Mrs. Blum also brought a civil suit claiming she suffered a burning sensation in her eyes, had to quit her job and became so nervous she had to see a psychiatrist. Now the seven jokers have agreed to pay her \$5,000, which presumably gives her reason at last to lick her lips.

THE FIRESTONES IN 1965



SEE HOW MUCH MONEY A PHILCO COLD GUARD™ REFRIGERATOR CAN SAVE YOU ON ELECTRICITY

For example, over the average life of a refrigerator (15 years), you can save up to:

\$1313.64 in New York, N.Y.	@ \$.089 per KWH	\$ 590.40 in Rochester, N.Y.	@ \$.040 per KWH
\$ 797.04 in Philadelphia, Pa.	@ \$.054 per KWH	\$ 590.40 in Youngstown, Ohio	@ \$.040 per KWH
\$ 767.52 in Hartford, Conn.	@ \$.052 per KWH	\$ 575.64 in Buffalo, N.Y.	@ \$.039 per KWH
\$ 767.52 in Springfield, Mass.	@ \$.052 per KWH	\$ 575.64 in Greenville, N.C.	@ \$.039 per KWH
\$ 738.00 in New Haven, Conn.	@ \$.050 per KWH	\$ 575.64 in Huntington, WV	@ \$.039 per KWH
\$ 723.24 in Richmond, Va.	@ \$.049 per KWH	\$ 575.64 in Orlando, Florida	@ \$.039 per KWH
\$ 708.48 in Norfolk, Va.	@ \$.048 per KWH	\$ 560.88 in Houston, Texas	@ \$.038 per KWH
\$ 664.20 in Baltimore, Md.	@ \$.046 per KWH	\$ 560.88 in Los Angeles, Calif.	@ \$.038 per KWH
\$ 649.44 in Tampa, Florida	@ \$.044 per KWH	\$ 546.12 in Bismarck, N.D.	@ \$.037 per KWH
\$ 649.44 in Toledo, Ohio	@ \$.044 per KWH	\$ 546.12 in Little Rock, Ark.	@ \$.037 per KWH
\$ 634.68 in Detroit, Mich.	@ \$.043 per KWH	\$ 531.36 in St. Louis, Mo.	@ \$.036 per KWH
\$ 634.68 in Kansas City, Mo.	@ \$.043 per KWH	\$ 516.60 in Salt Lake City, Utah	@ \$.035 per KWH
\$ 634.68 in Washington, D.C.	@ \$.043 per KWH	\$ 501.84 in Cincinnati, Ohio	@ \$.034 per KWH
\$ 619.92 in Waterloo, Iowa	@ \$.042 per KWH	\$ 501.84 in Raleigh, N.C.	@ \$.034 per KWH
\$ 605.16 in Jacksonville, Fla.	@ \$.041 per KWH	\$ 487.08 in Atlanta, Ga.	@ \$.033 per KWH
\$ 605.16 in Sioux Falls, S.D.	@ \$.041 per KWH	\$ 472.32 in South Bend, Ind.	@ \$.032 per KWH
\$ 590.40 in Evansville, Ind.	@ \$.040 per KWH	\$ 442.80 in Mobile, Ala.	@ \$.030 per KWH
\$ 590.40 in Portland, Maine	@ \$.040 per KWH	\$ 428.04 in Sheridan, Wyo.	@ \$.029 per KWH

(In high or low humidity areas, actual savings may be more or less.)

It sounds too good to be true, but it is true. Every Philco Cold Guard Refrigerator uses less electricity than comparable models from any manufacturer listed in the Sept. 1975 AHAM Directory, with their electric anti-condensation heaters on at least 50%

of the time. So you'll save money. That's because only Philco refrigerators were actually re-engineered to give you all three of these important energy-saving features: double cavity Uni-Wall Liner with no seams or joints (patented process), precision placement of insulation, complete non-electric anti-

condensation system.

Actual savings may vary depending upon climatic conditions, individual usage and electric rate changes. Savings shown are based on estimated residential electricity costs and consumption.

For a free booklet that will let you figure out just how much you can save in your area write: Aeronutronic Ford Corporation, MS 84, Blue Bell, Pa. 19422



Based on costs in effect during October 1975, represent minimum consumption available on current performance of Cold Guard Model RD19F8 (Code 120) compared with the energy consumption of comparable size and type models of three leading brands listed in the Sept. 1975 Directory of Certified Refrigerators and Freezers, published by the American National Home Appliance Manufacturers (AHAM). Comparisons show that Model RD19F8 uses 31 kilowatt-hours less electricity than comparable, but competitive models with anti-condensation heaters are based on average maximum minimum energy consumption.



THE REFRIGERATOR THAT HELPS PAY FOR ITSELF

STOCK MARKET

A Shower of Dividends for Investors

Although stock prices remain stuck a bit below 1,000 on the Dow Jones industrial average, most Wall Streeters still think it is only a matter of time before the barrier crumbles and the U.S. economy continues its comeback. In back-and-forth trading last week the Dow average closed at 972.92, about even with the previous week's close. Simultaneously, however, the nation got some of the best news yet about prices and jobs. The wholesale price index in February dropped .5%; it was the fourth straight month in which that key indicator has either held steady or gone down. Even better, the unemployment rate fell to 7.6% in February, from 7.8% in January and 8.3% in December.

Corporate chairmen and presidents are behaving as if they expect both profits and stock prices to keep going up. U.S. companies will probably schedule \$13 billion worth of new stock issues for sale in 1976—already well ahead of the \$9.2 billion actually marketed in all of last year. Stock splits are also on the rise; they have been announced by such companies as Bendix, Crane, Amsted, and U.S. Steel. Most important, corporate directors are encouraging investors by announcing the largest number of dividend increases in 20 years.

During January and February, 454 dividend increases were announced, or 226 in the same months a year earlier. Among them: R.H. Macy, Federated Department Stores, Bank of America, Carnation, American Brands, General Foods and Owens-Illinois. The most notable boost was by American Telephone

and Telegraph, which has more stockholders (2,923,000) than any other U.S. company. A T & T surprised Wall Street last month by raising its quarterly dividend on each share a dime to 95¢, double the increase that analysts had expected. A T & T's profits actually declined slightly from 1974 to 1975, but Chairman John D. deButts explained that the increased dividend "reflects the directors' confidence in the economy's continuing recovery and in our own business prospects."

Outpacing Inflation. The increases point up a major, though often unnoticed, attraction of stock purchases: dividends throughout the '70s have been rising rapidly enough to keep most stockholders' income from their share holdings ahead of inflation. Although stock prices themselves dipped sharply during that period, dividends paid by U.S. corporations soared from \$22.9 billion in 1970 to \$32.8 billion last year; that 43% rise outpaced a 36% climb in the consumer price index. This year Economist Irwin Kellner of New York's Manufacturers Hanover Trust expects dividends to go up about 8%, well ahead of the anticipated 6% rate of inflation.

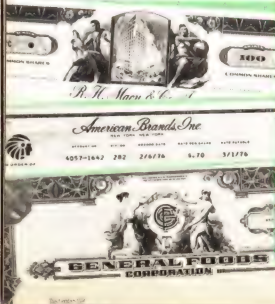
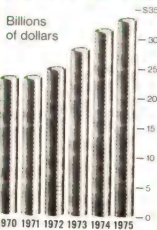
Behind the current surge in dividends is a desire by many companies to make their stocks more attractive, thus allowing them to raise money by issuing new stock instead of by bonds or other debt securities. Debt financing

swelled considerably during the past five years as stock prices fell to levels so low as to make new issues virtually impossible to market. Many stocks are still selling far below their record high prices, and a dividend sweetener is seen by many corporate finance officers as a way to increase demand.

The growing interest of investors in dividends contrasts sharply with the atmosphere of the bull market of the '60s. Professional money managers then concentrated on price appreciation and ignored dividend yields. The star performers of those days—Xerox, Polaroid and other so-called glamor issues—paid little in dividends, yet held out the promise of higher profits and prices in the future. Now the high flyers' wings have been clipped and such laws as the Pension Reform Act of 1974 mandate a new prudence among managers who invest other people's money. Dozens of "index fund" managers now buy high-dividend stocks and merely try to match or slightly exceed increases in such popular price indexes as Dow Jones and Standard & Poor's.

Last week Canada Southern Railway Co., a Penn Central subsidiary, declared a \$60 dividend—larger even than the \$41 price of the stock itself—apparently to keep a \$9 million cash reserve fund out of the hands of Conrail, the Government corporation that takes over the Penn Central and six other bankrupt railroads on April 1. A company spokesman said the timing of the dividend was coincidental but implied that

CORPORATE DIVIDENDS



Vega. The three-way economy wagon.

1. Five-year, 60,000-mile engine guarantee.

This engine guarantee is for five years or 60,000 miles, whichever comes first. It's an added value feature included in all 1976 Vegas equipped with Dura-Built 4-cylinder, 140-cubic-inch engines. It means that should something go wrong with the engine your dealer will fix it free. This limited warranty covers repairs to the cylinder block, cylinder head, all internal engine parts, intake and exhaust manifolds, and water pump, made necessary because of defects in material or workmanship. It does not cover repairs required because of accident, misuse, or lack of proper maintenance. See your Chevy dealer for a complete guarantee statement.



2. 35 mpg highway. 24 mpg city. EPA ratings.

These ratings are for Vega wagons equipped with the standard Dura-Built 140-cubic-inch 1-barrel engine, 3-speed manual transmission, standard rear axle. Another popular combination, the available 140-cubic-inch 2-barrel engine with 4-speed manual transmission and standard rear axle, has an EPA rating of 35 mpg highway, and 23 mpg city. These test cars were not equipped with air conditioning.

Remember: These mileage figures are *estimates*. The actual mileage you get will vary depending on the type of driving you do, your car's condition and available equipment. In California see your Chevy dealer for EPA mileage figures and power train availabilities.

3. Lowest priced '76 wagon built in America.



Based on a comparison of Manufacturers' Suggested Retail Prices, you won't find a lower priced wagon built in America than the base Vega Wagon model shown above. Its price includes the standard 140 1-barrel engine. Tax, license, destination charge and available equipment additional.

If you're looking for an economical way to get room for four plus extra carrying space, see your Chevy dealer about a Vega wagon.

Chevrolet, America's Family Station Wagon Builder.



Vega Estate



There are still some things Americans know how to do best.

One of the things Americans do best is build a phone system.

You see, the invention of the telephone didn't stop with Alexander Graham Bell. It just started.

What we've done in the 100 years since has put the world at your fingertips. So you can reach the one phone you want out of the 140 million in this country alone.

Today, we're building parts of your phone — and the things that make it work — atom by atom in special manufacturing areas like the Western Electric "clean room" above.



A turn-of-the-century telephone installer.

in a delicately-balanced coast-to-coast network of more than a trillion parts.

And because you're making more and more calls every day, we've created entirely new communication systems.

Like our latest electronic switching machine that will provide you with even faster, more reliable service by routing more than

Working with Bell Labs and your phone company, we make sure that all these parts work together

550,000 long distance calls an hour.

Actually, nearly half the things Western Electric will make this year didn't exist just five years ago. (Even the standard telephone that you probably think never changes has had virtually every major part improved since 1972.)



We've been making Bell telephone equipment since 1879.

Improvements like these don't just happen.

The Bell System invests more than 750 million dollars

a year in research and development to meet your communication needs reliably and economically.

Which is why America has the best telecommunications system in the world.

One Bell System.

It works. And we're part of it.



 **Western Electric**

ECONOMY & BUSINESS

Conrail was entitled only to the railroad's physical assets and not the cash reserve fund. The payout faces a certain court challenge. Conrail had made it clear that it would block any attempt to transfer assets from the bankrupt railroads to private shareholders.

POSTAL SERVICE

A Search for Deliverance

As the commercial flashes on the screen, a schoolboy is opening a letter from his grandmother. He begins to read, and the scene shifts slowly to an elderly lady in a distant city smiling at a photo of her grandson. A voice-over intones the message: "P.S., write soon." That bit of soft-sell—strongly reminiscent of A.T. & T.'s familiar telephone commercials—is now being test marketed in Atlanta, Minneapolis-St. Paul and Columbus. It is part of an experiment by the U.S. Postal Service to boost revenues by getting more people to use the mails. The unusual TV promotion is the latest effort by the embattled Postal Service to lift itself out of financial trouble that seems to grow more severe with each passing month.

The service, a quasi-independent corporation that replaced the old politically dominated Post Office Department in 1971, has had money problems ever since it was created. Today, the woes of the service have reached such alarming proportions that postal officials in Washington are privately discussing the possibility of an outright financial collapse in a year and a half. One of the bleakest assessments yet of the service's future is contained in a speech this week by Postmaster General Benjamin F. Bailer before the Economic Club of Detroit. Unless drastic changes are made in the way that Americans send and receive their mail, Bailer warned, "we are heading for potential disaster."

Slumping Volume. Bailer's fears are well founded. Inflation has kicked up the service's operating costs at the same time that recession and rate increases have reduced mail volume for the first time since the Depression. Volume, which hit a peak of 90 billion pieces in 1974, dropped by 1½% last year and is expected to slump to about 84 billion pieces over the next five years. Mailings will be held down in the future by, among other things, the expanding use of electronic funds transfers. The Social Security Administration is already crediting some payments to recipients' bank accounts instead of mailing checks to homes. Newspapers, magazines and other mass-volume mailers are seeking to cut costs by using private carriers.

Despite a current annual budget of \$14.2 billion and a recent rate hike that averaged 26% on all classes of mail, the service will post a deficit of

\$1.4 billion this fiscal year, which ends June 30. To make ends meet, the service wants Congress to double its present \$920 million annual public service appropriation. The Administration is opposed to such an increase contending that mail users should pay for rising costs. Some Congressmen who want to return to the old post-office system note that the Postal Reorganization Act of 1970 insists that the service strive to be self-supporting.

In his speech, Bailer contends that the Postal Service has tried to cut costs and improve productivity wherever possible. The service is redrawing letter carriers' routes to equalize the work load, forcing employees to move from over-



U.S. POSTAL SERVICE POSTER

staffed offices to understaffed ones, thus reducing the need for overtime and saving an estimated \$600 million a year. But even more drastic measures are needed, says Bailer. "The public must either pay for the growing price of traditional services or be willing to give up something." The Postmaster General also questions the necessity of at least three traditional services:

1) Six-day-a-week delivery. Postal authorities have for some time been considering the possibility of dropping deliveries on Saturdays at an annual saving of \$350 million.

2) Door-to-door delivery. If mail could be dropped at curbside mailboxes instead of directly at the front door, the letter-carrier force could be reduced at a substantial saving. Such a move would unquestionably run into fierce opposition from the 230,353-member National Association of Letter Carriers.

3) Maintaining a large number of little-used post offices. A study last year by the General Accounting Office, Congress's financial watchdog, found that up to 12,000 of the service's 31,000 post-offices



POSTMASTER GENERAL BAILER
Well-founded fears.

could be shut with no loss in efficiency. In the last year or so, Bailer has closed or consolidated 186 small offices. In response to a suit brought against the agency by 51 Congressmen, a federal district judge ruled that the Postal Service could close post offices as long as it followed certain, required procedures, namely, conducting a survey of mail users and providing a 90-day notice of closing. But the leader of the Congressional critics, Rep. Paul Simon, Illinois Democrat, says he will continue

the fight to block further closings of small post offices.

Bailer, who has been sounding off to Congress about the service's troubles for months, intends to bring his case to the public in a series of speeches around the country. His basic argument is both simple and blunt: Congress will have to provide more money or agree to cuts in service. The success or failure of Bailer's mission could well determine whether the nation's experiment in operating a businesslike, non-political office will flourish or come to an early end.

AIRLINES

The Fare Play Continues

As they try to sort out the bewildering tangle of air fares, vacationers planning summer trips to Europe can be sure of one thing: it will cost more. Last week 86 airlines belonging to the International Air Transport Association (IATA) agreed on a 6% fare increase on North Atlantic routes that will go into

ECONOMY & BUSINESS

effect May 1. The new rate will boost the standard economy fare by \$42, to \$806, for a London-New York round trip and from \$968 to \$1,010 for a New York-Rome return economy ticket. Hikes in excursion fares used most frequently by tourists were somewhat smaller. A summer "peak season" 22- to 45-day New York-London return ticket will rise \$34, to \$527, and the prepaid tariff for tickets ordered two months in advance will increase by \$11, to \$410.

Initially, there had been hopes that the fare increases, which are still subject to approval by the U.S. Civil Aeronautics Board and foreign regulatory agencies, would be accompanied by a simplification of the crazy-quilt system of airline rates that now leaves passengers and travel agents alike confused. On the North Atlantic routes, there is a total of nine different IATA-approved rates, ranging from the standard first-class and economy tariffs through excursion fares to group- and age-related reduced rates. Those fares do not include the various charter deals now offered by many of the airlines and travel agencies (TIME, Jan. 19).

While perplexing, the crazy quilt can sometimes mean good travel bargains, provided the passenger and travel clerks can figure out the best rate. A ticket bought two months in advance under one scheme enables a traveler to fly from New York to Paris and then return from New York from Madrid for only \$338, v. \$658 standard economy fare.

Different Rates. The airlines insist that in principle they favor simplified fares, but they also find the differing rates an effective way of attracting new passengers. While cut-rate fares are of less consideration to business travelers, who must fly where and when the job dictates, they appeal to vacationers, who are often willing to fly at less convenient times and to schedule trips far in advance to save a few dollars. Fully 80% of Pan American's transatlantic passengers take advantage of cut-rate fares.

Within the U.S., fares are also going up. Last week the CAB approved a 2% fare increase, following a 1% increase only a month earlier. The higher prices are intended to reduce the huge losses suffered last year by most of the nation's major airlines (TWA alone lost \$86.3 million and Eastern \$49.7 million). As a result, the basic New York-Chicago economy fare will rise \$2, to \$76, by April. Unfortunately, the increases leave the domestic fare structure fully as complicated by discount and promotional rates as the international picture. To save 30% on domestic flights by major U.S. airlines, for example, a traveler must book at least 14 days in advance, pay ten days before departure and stay at the destination between seven and 30 days—with an additional discount available for flying late at night. But the amount of these discounts will be reduced on June 1.



NEW MODEL PORSCHE SPORTS CAR ON ASSEMBLY LINE IN STUTTGART-UNTERTURKHEIM PLANT

AUTOS

Back into Top Gear

West Germany's auto industry, after two years of flagging sales and profits, is racing out of the valley of despair like a supercharged Porsche showing its paces in an Alpine rally. Output rose 47% in January from a year earlier, and many executives view 1976 with something akin to euphoria. Predicts Robert A. Lutz, head of German Ford: "It will be a fantastic year."

Two years ago a combination of higher oil prices, recession and consumers' lack of confidence depressed industry output 22%, to 2.8 million cars. Volkswagen lost \$312.5 million, and German Ford \$68.3 million; General Motors' Opel subsidiary, thanks to nimble financial management, was able to stay in the black with a profit of \$2.4 million on sales of \$1.8 billion. "The big producers were all stuck with high break-even points [largely because of high labor costs and excess plant capacity] when the recession struck," says Lutz, who moved to Ford from Bayerische Motoren Werke (BMW) in 1974. "Now the arithmetic is coming right."

With the cooperation of West Germany's union leaders, VW, Ford and Opel have been able to reduce their labor force, by offering workers up to \$6,000 to quit. All three companies are offering new and revamped models, and Ford is raising capacity from 980 to 1,500 cars a day at its Saarlouis plant to meet expected demand for the Fiesta minicar that will go on sale in the fall. Opel and Ford are now profitable again, and VW says that last year's loss will be far smaller than 1974's.

As the German automakers see it, with gasoline at \$1.33 a gallon, double its 1973 price, there is a strong demand for small, economical cars, while wealthy drivers will continue to buy expensive quality autos. But the market is less

buoyant for medium-sized, medium-priced autos. That, in part, explains how Daimler-Benz and BMW managed to steer through the recession with barely a falter. Sales of Mercedes-Benz cars rose from 331,682 in 1973 to 350,098 in 1975. Buoyed by that performance as well as by rising truck and bus production (229,303 up 11.7% from 1974), Daimler-Benz is now Europe's largest automotive manufacturer, with sales of \$8.1 billion in 1975, compared with VW's \$7.4 billion.

BMW remains Pinto-sized by comparison, with sales of \$1.2 billion in 1975, but output of its fast, sporty cars soared to 217,458, from 184,681 the year before. Like Daimler-Benz, BMW did not have to lay off a single worker during the recession and remained profitable, making \$16.2 million in 1974. Even little Porsche, which sells a mere 180 cars a week (price range: \$9,120 to \$26,600), is confident enough to have embarked on a \$55 million expansion program.

Faltering Rivals. The ebullient mood of the auto industry in Germany is in sharp contrast to that in its European rivals. Britain is scissored by falling domestic demand and chronic labor troubles, which have brought the auto industry to the brink of bankruptcy. Italian domestic sales in 1975 fell 17.6%, the sharpest drop in 30 years; but recovery has started, with January 33% above the same month last year. Though not so precipitous, the 3% French decline in 1975 output was bad enough. One industry spokesman views prospects for 1976 with "guarded optimism."

Auto executives in Germany remain convinced that even if all around them falter, they face a bright future. John P. McCormack, who is moving from Opel to head General Motors' European operations, believes the energy crisis and recession have strengthened the car's appeal: "People realize more than ever how important the car is for the economy and for most transportation needs."

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KANSAS FARMER PREPARING DUSTY FIELD FOR REPLANTING AFTER THE LONG DROUGHT THIS WINTER

AGRICULTURE

A New Dust-Bowl Threat

Little by little the sky was darkened by the mixing dust, and the wind felt over the earth, loosened the dust, and carried it away... The finest dust did not settle back to earth now, but disappeared into the darkening sky... The corn fought the wind with its weakened leaves until the roots were freed by the prying wind and then each stalk settled wearily sideways toward the earth.

—The Grapes of Wrath, 1939

For many farmers, John Steinbeck's description of the Dust Bowl is as tragically apt today as it was in the 1930s. The drought and winds that four decades ago turned large parts of the U.S. into an agricultural disaster area have returned to some areas of the Great Plains, parching crops and whipping topsoil into sun-darkening clouds. In the 1930s the victims of the drought—the impoverished Okies memorialized in Steinbeck's novel—were lured westward by California's verdant fruit groves. But this time California is suffering from its most severe drought since 1921 and is in the midst of an agricultural crisis.

Some experts attribute the lack of rain to an absence of sunspots, others to recurring drought cycles. In any event, parts of the Great Plains have received so little rain that they are actually drier than at the onset of the great drought of '34. Starved for moisture, the rich topsoil in hard-hit areas of the Great Plains is turning into a fine brown silt. Winds hurl the dust particles against the still-growing sprouts, until they lose their color and die.

Green Bugs. Colorado expects to lose 70% of its winter wheat crop, and parts of Oklahoma anticipate a two-thirds decline in this year's harvest. Other sections are also suffering. In parts of the once lush wheat-growing belt that extends from New Mexico and Texas into Kansas and Iowa, the wheat shoots are stunted. Many farmers are choosing to sacrifice their crops in an effort to save the topsoil. By plowing their fields

to turn the silt beneath less fragile clods and by planting soil-gripping crops, the farmers hope to conserve their valuable topsoil that otherwise may be swept away. Complicating the problem, unseasonably warm weather in some areas has produced an early infestation of cutworms and green bugs that attack the weakened plants.

Despite the impending harvest failures, wheat prices so far have moved upward only slightly. A big crop in other parts of the U.S. could offset the expected losses. Nonetheless, many individual farmers stand to be wiped out by this year's losses. Says Minnesota Agricultural Expert John Wefald: "Some farmers are going to kiss rural America goodbye and good night."

Fresh Sprouts. Much of California was drenched by rain last week, but after almost six months of unrelieved drought, the downpours were too late to be of much help to farmers. As Gordon Snow, an official in the state Department of Food and Agriculture, put it: "It is going to have to rain for 40 days and 40 nights to make any difference." Because of the lack of rain, California's usually green fields are burned brown. Wildlife, starved for fresh sprouts, is migrating to the few irrigated areas. Fruits and vegetables have been withering for lack of moisture. Many cattlemen faced with skyrocketing hay prices are selling their stock for slaughter now at below break-even prices. So far, California growers and cattlemen estimate their losses at \$410 million—and the cost is rising daily. Governor Jerry Brown has declared 29 agricultural counties disaster areas, which will allow the hard-pressed farmers to apply for emergency state and federal aid.

At first, farm experts and weather forecasters had feared that the present drought might be only the start of a cycle. In 1933, the parched earth spread northward from Kansas and Oklahoma until by 1935 most of the Middle West was afflicted. Mercifully, an onset of rain in Iowa and other parts of the Midwest has alleviated that worry. Still, in areas already seriously stricken by drought, it will take several years of normal rainfall and intensive soil husbandry before Dust Bowl conditions are overcome.

ENERGY

Mission Impossible

Project Independence, the grand scheme started by Richard Nixon in 1973 to free the U.S. from dependence on foreign producers of energy, may well be Mission Impossible. That is the inescapable conclusion of a new 500-page study by the Federal Energy Administration. Not that the FEA says so outright; the report, called *The National Energy Outlook*, soberly presents computer models of the different options facing the nation between now and 1985. But not one of the seven basic "alternative scenarios" offered would result in total independence from the oil-producing and -exporting countries.

The FEA's key assumption is that the OPEC cartel will maintain high prices for oil (currently \$11.56 per bbl.). Main reason: Saudi Arabia, Libya and Kuwait are cutting production rather than risk the falling prices that would accompany a global oil glut. Though the FEA study considers the theoretical impact of oil prices of \$8 and \$16 per bbl., it concentrates on the effects of an average price of \$13 per bbl. At that level, no alternative sources of energy, not even such highly touted synthetic fuels as shale oil and liquefied coal, can compete with oil, at least not by 1985. So the question is how much foreign oil the nation will need, even after Alaskan oil starts flowing.

President's Program. FEA's report gives several possible answers. If President Ford gets his entire energy program through Congress, starting with decontrol of domestic oil and natural gas prices and leasing of offshore reserves, the nation could boost daily domestic production from 8.2 million bbl. now to 13.9 million bbl. in 1985. That, along with a surge in nuclear power plant construction and some much debated changes in environmental laws to allow more coal to be burned, would permit the U.S. to hold imports to the present level of 6 million bbl. a day.

Total imports in 1985 may conceivably drop to 1.7 million bbl. a day, provided that the U.S. enacts a strong energy conservation program in addition

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to following Ford's other legislative remedies. On the other hand, if Congress bucks the President's call for decontrolled prices and eased environmental laws, which seems likely, the nation can expect to import 11.3 million bbl. of oil a day in 1985. FEA's report attempts only to provide an objective basis for future energy decisions. Its figures nonetheless give a timely warning that in the foreseeable future there is no escape from OPEC oil.

EXECUTIVES

A Golden Handshake

There are times, in the rarified world of corporation politics, when resignation can be painful but also profitable. Last November Robert Sarnoff, chairman of the RCA Corp. and son of its redoubtable longtime chief Brigadier General David Sarnoff, quit his \$326,000-a-year post after the corporation's directors refused his request for a salary boost (TIME, Nov. 17, 1975). The event had all the earmarks of a board-room putsch. Since 1971, when RCA absorbed a \$490 million pretax loss in selling off the computer business that had been Bobby Sarnoff's brainchild, there had been widespread rumors about various directors' dissatisfaction with their chairman.

Whether Bobby Sarnoff was pushed from the job or left on his own, the fact remains that his parting was more than sweet sorrow. TIME has learned that as of Jan. 1, 1976—the day after his resignation took effect—Sarnoff became a consultant to RCA at an annual retainer of \$75,000. His new contract runs for ten years. The company's explanation is that Sarnoff's advice is needed by RCA on matters with which he is familiar "by reason of his former employment." The company's gesture seems to be a "golden handshake," a generous farewell present designed to discourage any public recriminations. The expensive practice was widespread in the business world until the mid-1960s, but since then, largely because of stockholders' opposition, it has been rather rare.

Improved Situation. Even though RCA's second largest subsidiary, NBC, has been suffering in the TV ratings race, the corporation's situation seems to have improved, perhaps coincidentally, since Sarnoff stepped down. The company is planning to sell Cushman & Wakefield, Inc., a commercial real estate subsidiary that it had acquired under Sarnoff, and is closing two unprofitable electronics plants. RCA's profits from telecommunications and its Hertz car-rental subsidiary have been healthy. Investors seem to be cautiously optimistic about the new RCA management, headed by President Anthony L. Conrad. RCA stock, which was selling at \$18.50 last November, was up to \$24.875 a share at week's end.

The Proton Pump

Despite their progress in developing solar cells, giant reflectors and other devices, scientists still lag far behind nature in their ability to harness solar energy. No man-made device can match the performance of the green pigment chlorophyll: through the process of photosynthesis, it converts some 30% of the sunlight striking it into the chemical energy that plants use to create their own food. Even more frustrating, chlorophyll has defied the efforts of scientists to use it directly to produce energy for man; the pigment is highly unstable.

But man may yet employ a natural converter to get energy directly from

—the organism that gives red herring their distinctive color—he found a purple pigment that was chemically similar to "visual purple," a pigment in the retinas of animal and human eyes. The similarity led Stoekenius and his co-workers to suspect that the pigment helped the organism use light for its life processes.

Continuing his research after transferring to California in 1967, Stoekenius found that the pigment, called bacteriorhodopsin, functioned as a sort of pump, converting sunlight directly into electrochemical energy. Light striking a pigment molecule causes it to eject a hydrogen ion—or proton—that passes through the cell's membrane. The move-

ment of the positively charged protons through the membrane leaves an excess of negative charge on one side of the membrane. That produces a voltage gradient and results in an electrical current flowing through the membrane. In the process, which involves at least five separate steps, each bacteriorhodopsin molecule pumps out a proton every 250th of a second and provides the energy the organism needs to synthesize adenosine triphosphate (ATP), the energy-storing molecule common to all living cells.

Stoekenius reported that researchers are already experimenting with bacteriorhodopsin in efforts to build a photoelectric cell. Stoekenius also believes bacteriorhodopsin's chemical similarity to visual purple could help scientists better understand the basic processes of vision and could offer new insights into cell biology. "All living cells need to pump ions across their cell membranes," says Stoekenius. "It seems to me that we are close to discovering certain basic cellular functions."

Because the pigment helps the bacteria to push salt through their membranes to the outside, enabling them to survive in salt water, researchers believe it may be useful in desalination projects. Their scheme is to shine light on pigment-coated membranes that separate pools of salt water; the pigment would presumably pump minerals from one side of the membrane to the other, leaving one pool relatively salt-free. An understanding of how the membrane does this may be useful in building large-scale desalination plants. Man's supplies of fresh water are rapidly dwindling. A pump based on these principles may enable him to replenish them by extracting fresh water from the sea.



STOEKENIUS AT ELECTRON MICROSCOPE
From the Dead Sea and salt flats.

sunlight. Last week Cell Biologist Walter Stoekenius, 54, with colleagues at the University of California at San Francisco and a team from NASA's Ames Research Center, announced that a purple pigment found in red bacteria from the Dead Sea and salt flats round the world also directly converts sunlight into energy. While the pigment is less efficient than chlorophyll—only an estimated 10% of light energy is converted—it is more stable and easily extracted from the bacteria.

Visual Purple. Stoekenius began the work that led to his discovery in 1965 while serving as an associate professor at New York City's Rockefeller University. Studying the structure of a microbe called *Halobacterium halobium*

GE explains why your next color TV set should have a "Black Matrix" picture tube.

If you were to look through a magnifying glass at the face of a color television picture tube, you'd see that there are thousands of red, blue and green dots or rectangles behind the glass. These colored dots are phosphors, placed very precisely on the picture tube, and when they are illuminated electronically, they produce the color TV picture you see.

Your color picture is affected by external light: sunlight, electric light, whatever. Too much external light can wash out the color TV picture.

Black Matrix, in plain English, means that the colored phosphors on the tube face have been surrounded by a jet black background (the matrix) which reduces the amount of light reflected from the face of the picture tube. The result is improved contrast and therefore a better picture.

Making a color picture tube is a sophisticated, complex process that requires special care in manufacturing. For instance, in the phosphor application room of General Electric's

Black Matrix picture tubes are included in all General Electric 1976 color TV consoles and selected 19", 17", and 13" diagonal TV models.

modern picture tube plant, the air is filtered to be 99.99% dust-free and assembly line personnel wear special dust and lint-free clothing to help prevent impurities from entering the picture tube.

All of this and more to give you a quality color TV picture. And isn't that precisely what you're looking for in your next color set. So compare color sets before you buy.

When you combine GE precision-built Black Matrix picture tubes with our modular solid state chassis and GE Custom Picture Control, you'll understand why...

It all adds up to GE performance television

 **performance**
TELEVISION



Cabinet constructed of hardwood solids, veneers and simulated wood accents.

GENERAL  ELECTRIC

A New Treasure on the Thames

From the outside, the new home of Britain's National Theater looks like a concrete cubist fortress. Yet, looking out from its wide cantilevered terraces, one might be on the bridge of an ocean liner. Scanning the Thames from its South Bank, one sees the helmeted dome of St. Paul's to the right, and on the left, the smoothly scalloped arches of Waterloo Bridge. Within the building, the staggered lobby levels form spacious coves of unanticipated intimacy, soon to be thronged with hosts of theatergoers.

Entering the chief playhouse in this three-theater complex, the not-yet-finished Olivier Theater, is a breath-catching moment. It flares out like a fan,

but all deliberate speed continued to prevail. The building was not actually begun until 1969. However, in 1963, Laurence Olivier was officially appointed head of the National, with the company performing at the Old Vic. Without his towering prestige and his selfless devotion of ten years of his time, it is doubtful whether the idea would have ever become a reality.

Complemented intellectually by Kenneth Tynan in the subsidiary role of literary manager, Olivier led the National to eclectic pinnacles of dramatic art. But in a decade's time, ill health and some ill-conceived productions brought about Olivier's resignation. His successor was no surprise. Between 1960 and 1968, Peter Hall had revolutionized the playing of Shakespeare, created the Royal Shakespeare Company and made it a national theater of high-styled stature. The bristly-bearded Hall—part dynamo, part diplomat, and possessed of a driving will—is peculiarly fitted to meet the challenge that lies ahead in forging a theater within the atmosphere of a nerve-shaken Britain.

Pure Vision. As the English experience shows, wanting, or even legislating, a national theater is no guarantee of getting one. When Manhattan's Lincoln Center complex was erected, many U.S. playgoers half-supposed that they were getting a kind of prefabricated national theater. The recent Napoleonic efforts of the indefatigable Joseph Papp demonstrate that without the framework of tradition, such hope was unrealistic. What is needed is the meshing of disparate elements into an organic whole. The salient factors are the physical plant, the guiding personality, common aesthetic purpose and access to the public purse, together with the mature seasoning of tradition and the ability to cope with the carpens who greet every visible defect as a disaster.

The plant on the Thames' South Bank is a marvel of sophisticated technology and congenial amenities for actors and audiences alike. For theatergoers, there are seven bars, two cafeterias and a restaurant. Backstage facilities include scenery workshops that run the full rear length of the building and rehearsal rooms large enough to contain a play's sets. For actors, there are 135 air-conditioned dressing rooms. The playing areas of the theaters will also be air-conditioned.

The 890-seat Lyttelton, where the company will make its debut, is a traditional proscenium arch house with the subdued intimacy of a room one might associate with chamber music. No ticket holder can complain about his point of vantage. The raked, beige, tufted seats

offer sight lines of geometric clarity. It is as if the air had been filtered for purer vision. The particular largesse of the Lyttelton is a side stage sealed off from the main stage by a soundproof door. A visiting company from the provinces or abroad—and Hall intends to invite them—can mount its set on the side stage during one of the National's matinees, and then slide it onto the main stage for the evening performance.

1,160 Pairs. At no point in the drafting process for the theaters did Architect Denys Lasdun consider designing for a show of pomp, reports *TIME* Correspondent Lawrence Malkin. The priority was to make form assist theatrical function. With the Olivier Theater, in particular, consultations occurred between Lasdun and Olivier and such accomplished men of the theater as Directors John Dexter, Peter Brook and Peter Hall himself. The concept emerged of a theater in which, as Lasdun puts it, "an actor could hold an audience in the palm of his hand, and every one of them would have him in his sight." The fan spread of the house is between 125 and 130'; that is the effective width span of human vision. In intensity of effect, this means that one actor can have an eyeball-to-eyeball confrontation with 1,160 pairs of eyes.

The chief playing surface at the Olivier is a 40-ft.-in-diameter revolving drum. This is a most ingenious toy. It can split into two half-moon elevators, with one half dropping to the basement while the other half comes up with a change of setting within seconds. They can be positioned at different heights to create a split-level stage. The third theater, the diminutive Cottesloe (capacity 400) is a simple box, wood-lined, it is 75 ft. long, 47 ft. wide and 24 ft. high. Experimental in intent, the Cottesloe gives a director the choice of how he wants to use the space and even arrange the seats.

Whoever directs, Peter Hall will rule. He may command through persuasive fluency and crisp decision, but he must also woo the paying customers and the satraps of subsidy. At least 80% of the 2,450 seats must be filled or the prevailing ratio of \$2 in government subsidy for every \$2 in theater receipts will go perilously awry. There has been quite audible grumbling about the \$30 million that has already gone into what one sour critic has labeled "the concrete Xanadu on the South Bank." Hall has astutely muted such criticism by occupying the premises, and the government is now as unlikely to turn its back on the National as Washington, D.C., would be to turn on the Kennedy Center.

Hall will probably prevail and triumph, for he has the track record of a winner. Rarely have intelligence, tenacity, luck and skill enabled a man to ful-



DIRECTOR PETER HALL
He will rule.

not quite to the width of an amphitheater, but with an uncanny resemblance to miniature to the ancient Greek theater of Epidaurus. It is as if 2,500 years of dramatic history had been telescoped into this immutable wedge of space.

When the National Theater opens its new quarters on March 16 with a production of *Hamlet* with Albert Finney in the title role, the occasion will mark both the end and the beginning of an impossibly protracted dream. The first serious proposal for a national theater was made in 1848 by a London publisher named Effingham Wilson. As long ago as 1938, Bernard Shaw had actually secured the deeds for a prospective national theater site.

Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother was present at the ceremonial laying of the cornerstone for the project in 1951



View from the River Thames of the South Bank three-theater complex that will be the new home of the National Theater.



Rehearsal in progress of the latest play by John Osborne, *Watch It Come Down*, on the stage of the Lyttelton Theater.



Actress Anne Cartaret (left) being fitted for her costume in John Gabriel Borkman by Chief Cutter Stephen Skaptason; Soundman Julian Beech (below) at the controls in the sound booth at the rear of the Lyttleton Theater.



John Bury (above), designer, works on a model set for Tamburlaine; among actors in theater company at right are (first row, right to left) John Gielgud, Peggy Ashcroft, Albert Finney and Susan Fleetwood. Angela Lansbury is behind Finney and Wendy Hiller behind Lansbury.



fill so well a teen-age sense of vocation. At 14, he saw a performance of *Love's Labour's Lost* at Stratford-on-Avon and thought, "I want to direct that theater." At 29, he did.

When Hall was born in Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk, on Nov. 22, 1930, his father was a railway employee and his grandfather had been the village ratcatcher. Peter was bright enough to win scholarships that eventually took him to Cambridge. His father's railway pass gave him carte blanche for Saturday-night travel to London theaters, where he sat in "the Gods"—the top balcony—and watched his gods—Olivier, Richardson, Gielgud, Peggy Ashcroft—during the 1940s.

Two Itches. By the time he graduated from Cambridge, Hall had already directed nine plays and studied English under Scholar F.R. Leavis. Leavis hated theater, but he made a lasting impact on Hall with his scrupulous examination of a text, particularly for its ironies and ambiguities, and his conviction that any work of art must be placed in a social context. Hall more or less applied that lesson in his celebrated *Wars of the Roses* productions, in which the protagonists were not seen as gallant warrior-kings but as bloody power buccaners.

Hall walks his own corridors of power with relish and agility. Says he: "Basically, I have two itches. One is creative, the other is meddling—or business management, to put it at its highest." Lord Goodman, former head of the Arts Council, which rations the annual subsidies to the National, calls Hall "a clever and subtle negotiator." Others have called him a "manipulator," a "politician" and a "cold fish." Hall halfway cultivates the Machiavelli pose and may even utilize it for self-protection. Says he: "I am very proud. I don't like giving myself away. I don't like being vulnerable."

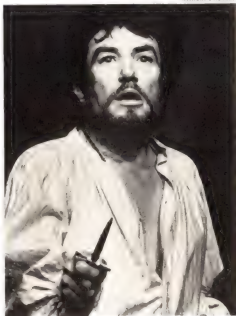
Some critics of bigness, such as regional companies and fringe groups (British siblings to off-off-Broadway), and even the RSC itself, have expressed fears that the National will operate like a giant vacuum cleaner, sucking up all available talent as well as a punitive share of government funds. Hall argues the reverse: "The more theater there is, the more is created."

In any event, Hall's first round of plays in repertory would not seem to be on a collision course with most of his competitors. His selections include *Happy Days*, Beckett's drama of a sand-trapped, middle-class suburban matron more in love with her paltry possessions than her life, in which Peggy Ashcroft gives a wonderfully luminous perfor-

mance. In bouncy contrast, *Plunder* is a kind of Feydeau farce in which two upper-class cads (Frank Finlay and Dinsdale Landen) beat the raps of burglary, murder and Scotland Yard. Further entries include Ibsen's soul-clawing *John Gabriel Borkman*; Pinter's *No Man's Land*, with Richardson and Gielgud (TIME, May 19); and a new John Osborne play, *Watch It Come Down*, which combines an atrabilious war between the sexes (Jill Bennett and Finlay) with a heartfelt anathema on England.

Hall has already jolted some critics with the *Hamlet* that will inaugurate his tenure at the National. There is no trace of Gielgud's musical phrasing, but the uncut text is spoken with such rigorous lucidity that it dispels old mysteries and reveals new ones. The mantle of "sweet prince" nobility is one garment Albert Finney never wears. If he were not

ANTHONY CRICHTON



FINNEY IN THE TITLE ROLE OF HAMLET
The prince as a Renaissance hit man.

Hamlet, he could be a Renaissance hit man whom Hamlet might have hired to kill the king. Yet his is a tormented bewilderment between the warring claims of rationality and blood revenge.

Hall springs a surprise with Gertrude, whom Angela Lansbury ably depicts as a hand-wringing matron whose habit of dependence left her no choice but to marry Claudius. In that role, Denise Quilley seems born to the crown with no soundlessly handog airs. When has it not been a king's prerogative to murder for his own advantage? he seems to ask. And doubling as the Ghost, he is briskly paternal, not garrulous. The tempo is all Peter Hall's doing, and he makes the play spring the whole four hours. So is the audacity, a quality likely to become familiar at this South Bank gem in the sea-girt isle of drama.

Died. Jean Martinon, 66. French composer-conductor who led orchestras around the world, including the Lamoureux Orchestra of Paris, the Israeli Philharmonic and, from 1963 to 1968, the Chicago Symphony, which finally replaced him with Georg Solti after disputes between Martinon's critics and supporters had plunged the orchestra into a state of near anarchy; after a long illness; in Paris. Martinon, who had trained as a violinist at the National Music Conservatory in the late 1920s, began conducting on short notice. In 1945, while on tour as a violinist, he was asked to take over—largely because the orchestra was performing one of his early compositions—when the conductor fell ill. His successful debut led to invitations from other orchestras and a career in conducting.

Died. Grover C. Loening, 87. pioneering aeronautical engineer, prophet and author; from the effects of a stroke; in Miami. Loening held the first aeronautical degree granted by an American university (Columbia, 1910) and, as a member of Orville Wright's design team, was taught to fly by Orville himself. In 1917 he formed his own plane-manufacturing company, eventually selling some 300 amphibian biplanes and becoming a millionaire in the process. In his 1935 book, *Our Wings Grow Faster*, Loening predicted that "at 500 m.p.h. 50,000 ft. above the ocean... far above storms or ice or fog... we will cross from New York to London in six hours." He lived to see that prophecy improved on with the SST. But in his later years he urged less emphasis on speed and more on vertical-takeoff planes, which could cut travel time by operating from airports near city centers.

Died. William Red Fox, who claimed to be 105, self-styled Sioux Indian chief and controversial man of letters and humbug; in Corpus Christi, Texas. His 1971 book, *The Memoirs of Chief Red Fox*, told it all—in fact, more than all; in his memoirs, the chief recalled his days acting in vaudeville and the movies, and touring with Buffalo Bill Cody's wild West show. He remembered catching fish with the hooked ribs of field mice and the braves' 1876 victory dance after they had wiped out General Custer. But it was his blow-by-blow account of the 1890 Wounded Knee massacre that taxed his publisher, McGraw-Hill. Investigations showed that some 12,000 words of *The Memoirs* had been lifted more or less directly from a 1940 book about Wounded Knee. McGraw-Hill settled the plagiarism suit, but the chief was unfazed. He promptly updated his show-business career, exploiting his new-found notoriety on TV talk shows.

The Hot Network

The long-dominant CBS eye blinked hard last week. For the seventh straight week, ABC led in television's prime-time ratings. The network raced away with the "second season," claiming a 34.3 share of the audience compared with CBS's 30.5 and NBC's 29.1. Although it is unlikely that ABC will pass CBS in the overall season's ratings, the perennially third network will almost certainly oust NBC from its accustomed No. 2 spot.

"I never thought I'd hear the words 'an ABC night'" marvels TV Consultant Mike Dann, who was chief programming strategist, first for NBC, then for CBS, from 1948 to 1970. To the viewer, ABC "nights"—meaning in TV jargon the nights the network swamps the ratings—are not much different from the other networks' fare. ABC's top shows are only too familiar comedies such as *Happy Days* and its offspring *Laverne and Shirley*, sci-fi fantasies like *The Six Million Dollar Man*, from whose stainless-steel rib was cloned the *Bionic Woman*, and a lineup of crime that includes *Star Trek* and *Hutch* and *S.W.A.T.* ABC has placed at least four shows in the top ten since the start of the second season.

Infusions of Sex. Only a year ago the network was reeling from a disastrous 1974 in which all but four of 16 shows flopped. 1975 looked no better. A corporate reshuffle, however, brought to the presidency Frederick S. Pierce, 42, a 20-year ABC veteran with a background in research and advertising sales. Pierce, an unflappable backroom boy who had succeeded in every department, started scheduling for the fall with the courage of a man with little to lose. ABC's strongest shows were tough cops-and-robbers epics (*Streets of San Francisco*, *Baretta*, *S.W.A.T.*). They could only be aired after the "family hour," from 8 to

9 p.m., when the networks schedule their hottest shows, usually comedies, hoping to capture an audience for the entire evening. Gambling that ABC could build an audience later in the evening, Pierce stripped in his proven dramatic shows throughout the week, and in the 10 p.m. slot spiced up such oldies as *Marcus Welby, M.D.* with infusions of sex. By midseason, he recalls, "half our shows worked, but we had serious problems in the 8-to-9 period." These evaporated as soon as ABC spun off *Laverne and Shirley* and *Bionic Woman* from its two most successful "family" shows and introduced another hit, the teeny-bopper variety show *Donny and Marie*. In February ABC was ready to capitalize on its new-found strength. *Rich Man, Poor Man*, a sexy twelve-hour serial that could turn into a series, was launched. Then Pierce delivered the *coup de grâce* to his rivals: he made the Winter Olympics an eleven-day prime-time special. Sports President Rooney Arledge's consummate showmanship and superb coverage grabbed a nightly 34 share of the audience and blunted the impact of CBS's and NBC's new shows.

Programming, which owes more to water divining than logical analysis, is a team game. Last spring Pierce hired away from CBS his programming chief, Fred Silverman, the most experienced and successful tactician in the business. Ironically, it was Silverman who set up the CBS schedule against which ABC has done so well. It is too early to judge Silverman's real influence on programming. It was he who spotted the series potential of *Laverne and Shirley*, the two brewery workers on *Happy Days*, and suggested *The Bionic Woman* spin-off. Silverman's impact on ABC itself is obvious. Already the network exudes a No. 1 brand of confidence. Now the hot entertainers want to be at ABC. More

than 50 projects, including a new Norman Lear sitcom starring Nancy Walker and an evening soap by Agnes Nixon (*All My Children*), are being considered by Silverman in a familiar CBS pattern—no commitments, just a lot of promising developments.

By any canon of capitalism, a three-network market economy should inspire a better product. Television may explode that assumption. On the evidence so far, quality shows seem to have had a better chance of survival when only two networks were competitive. In the '60s, for example, NBC's *Saturday Night at the Movies* drew a share in the 40s, but CBS's *The Defenders* could still pull a strong 30 share. Now winner takes all with three networks in contention. The difference in price between an advertising minute on a top-rated show and its rivals is up to \$100,000, and the other shows simply cannot attract big enough audiences. With the networks fighting over every hour, the instinct is to play safe. Programming has become one spin-off after another, either from a previous success or formats copied from British TV.

Revolving Door. ABC's coming of age as a contender is shaking up the industry. Claiming the largest audience of young adults of any network, ABC plans to concentrate on young performers rather than established stars and run shows on flexible, unorthodox schedules. Says Pierce, "We plan to introduce new shows all year round, and we want to develop new dramatic forms." With the success of *Rich Man, Poor Man*, he plans more serials from novels, and is also experimenting with short series like the recent four-program *Lola Falana Show* that was aired each week in a different time slot.

This may be the last year there are two TV seasons: the trend is toward a continuous, revolving-door policy. By last fall network programmers were using an overnight rating system effectively enough to kill new shows like

Audience shares represent the percentage of households monitored by Nielsen that are tuned in to a given network. The Nielsen samples vary in size.

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Fay after a couple of airings; long-term commitments to series became vulnerable. Producers depend on eventual syndication sales, and such deals are profitable only with a minimum of 100 shows. Says Bruce Geller, producer of *Mannix*, "It's all very confusing at the moment. No one really knows what will or will not work. Maybe television will be a little more experimental—trying to serialize novels, produce adult soap-opera concepts in prime time—than has been the case in recent years." The question remains whether that, in turn, will lead to better programs.

Viewpoints: A Lot of Nerve

There is nerve—and then again there is nerve. The kind they have lots of—too much of—in television is exhibited in its ripest form this week (NBC, Wednesday, 9 p.m. E.S.T.) by Jack Lem-



LEMMON IN THE ENTERTAINER
Nothing wayward.

mon, starring in a remake of John Osborne's *The Entertainer*. Archie Rice, that talentless, foul-spirited denizen of show biz's low depths, is, of course, the creation and sole property of Laurence Olivier—perhaps the greatest performance in a nonclassic role by the man who is our age's prince of players. There is no hope of duplicating what he did in that part. So it is hard to know what possessed Lemmon to put himself in a position where comparisons are bound to be inevitable and unfavorable.

The story has been on a West Coast amusement pier in order to accommodate the American accents of the star and his supporting players. Lemmon, who is nothing if not an earnest actor, works hard to be a total heel, destroying wife, children and final-



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ly his father (a beloved former star hauled out of retirement to save his son's awful act), not because he has any ambition left, but because the stage, however tacky it is, is the only arena in which he dares hope for survival. But the best Lemmon can manage in the role is a certain technical proficiency. There is nothing startling or even wayward in his work. Nothing seems to bubble up unbidden out of his unconscious, out of those memories he must surely share with all actors, of bad ideas tried out in rehearsal and found embarrassing, of nights when he must have felt he was going to boil in his own flop sweat. It was those memories—a performer's kinship acknowledged—that informed Olivier's work and, finally, humanized and redeemed his Archie. The recognition of self in the role of Archie and the willingness to admit it are beyond Lemmon. He is distant, predictable and therefore boring.

Gutsy Actor. The kind of nerve that raises modest hopes for the medium is, however, available on two other specials. *Song of Myself* (CBS, Tuesday, 10 p.m. E.S.T.) offers a sketchy biography of Walt Whitman, which is really an excuse to hear a well-selected anthology of his poetry. Poetry in any form is rare on commercial television, and just hearing Whitman well read in a Carl Sandburg songsong by Rip Torn is reason enough for gratitude. But Jan Hartman's script confronts Whitman's homosexuality with good bluntness, and Torn, a gutsy actor who has long deserved better of his trade than he usually receives, plays the populist bard instead of embalming him. There is something fine and wild in his spirit, in his very eyes, that is a perfect match for Whitman. It is hard to think of a historical drama that has dared to be as lively with a great historical name as this one.

On a quieter level of chance taking, *Farewell to Manzanar* (NBC, Thursday, 9 p.m. E.S.T.) deserves respect too. It is a semidocumentary drama about the internment of our Japanese citizenry during World War II. It gives a good general picture of how the internees turned a collection of ill-constructed barracks at Manzanar into something resembling a community, of the conflicts between those who counseled open rebellion against their absurd imprisonment and those who advised patience. The Spirit at Manzanar became a dignified resistance in which individuality was not sacrificed to the survivor's ethic. The story, in which a family called the Wakatsukis endures in a short span most of life's large experiences (birth, death, new love, even madness), never seems forced or schematic. The result is a work that is modest and touching and refreshingly free of melodrama. It is not at all the sort of thing you expect to find on *Thursday Night at the Movies*, but which you could hope for more of.

Richard Schickel



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COLUMBIA STUDENT REVOLT, 1968

War Against the '60s

THE SPOILED CHILD OF THE WESTERN WORLD

by HENRY FAIRLIE

217 pages. Doubleday. \$8.95.

TODAY AND TOMORROW IN AMERICA

by MARTIN MAYER

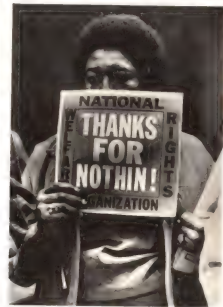
217 pages. Harper & Row. \$8.95.

Editorial writers. Columnist Murray Kempton once wrote, are the men who come out of the hills to shoot the wounded after the battle. For some time, many American thinkers have been picking through the still-smoking carnage and rubbish of the '60s, finishing off ideas—for example, Consciousness III and the millenarian pretensions of "the movement." This is not necessarily a dishonorable exercise, although sometimes it is a little too easy, like hunting from a helicopter. But there is a danger in it. A repugnance for the Yippie idiocies of the '60s can too often turn into a backlash against such concerns as clean air, equal rights and the lessening of poverty. Beneath the current indignation about Big Government there can lurk a regressive social meanness.

Both Henry Fairlie and Martin Mayer engage in a savage debunking of the '60s. Fairlie especially starts with an



ANTIWAR DEMONSTRATORS IN WASHINGTON, D.C., NOVEMBER 1969



NEW YORK WELFARE PROTESTER, 1968

oft-heard Bicentennial premise the U.S., reeling from Watergate and Viet Nam, must recover its morale and equilibrium. The idea could smack of mere inspirationalism, but Fairlie and Mayer approach the thought with original and even eccentric minds.

Self-Gratification. Fairlie, a British journalist who has lived for the past ten years in the U.S., can be severe and very rigid about America as a "spoiled child." Despite that tone, he is basically a classic liberal, worried about elitism and the decline of equal education and opportunity. His *New World symphonette* is delivered in elegant cadences. "The future of the world lies with America," Fairlie believes, and "it would be a tragedy if, in the rage that must be endured, America wearied of its own idea." Much of Fairlie's book is a rich and occasionally cranky meditation on the ways in which Americans have retreat-

ed into self-gratification and a kind of infantilism. The popular culture, says Fairlie, has thoughtlessly absorbed an art and literature of turbulence that are the art and literature of Europe in decline. Fairlie sounds like Nikita Khrushchev at an exhibition of modern art when he talks of attitudes of alienation that represent a "sickness of the imagination." With an outsider's desire to think better of Americans than they think of themselves, Fairlie endorses the idea of America as a promised land enjoying historical disquisitions.

America's great difficulty now, says Fairlie, lies in the people's neglect of their relationships as citizens and human beings. His solution would have Americans stop worrying about the tainted civilizations that they have too willingly accepted from Europe and return to the country's original and innocent vision. "The alienation of man from god, or man from nature, ought not to preoccupy us. The only alienation that matters is that of men from their society... It is only as a social being that the individual can be truly liberated." He is a little like the first mate Starbuck in *Moby-Dick*, who tries to get the cosmically obsessed Ahab to steer for home.

Martin Mayer's *Today and Tomorrow in America* is harder and more brisk, crackling with intelligence and a certain contempt for what he sees as the stupidities of American public policy. Ideologically, his book will probably be read by some as a callous, you-can't-make-an-omelette-without-breaking-eggs diatribe against social planners, academics in public life and environmentalists. Among his dicta: "Adjustments that take the reward structure too far out of line with contributions produce economic decay... An entirely disproportionate share of medical attention goes to the

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chronic, hopeless ills of the aged at the expense of children and young adults, whose needs would be a much wiser investment of the resources. . . . In the real world, limited resources impose choices; in the world of government, everyone can play Let's Pretend."

Mayer, free-lance social critic and author of *The Bankers and Madison Avenue, U.S.A.*, has a shrewd eye for the absurdities of government and other bureaucracies. In his view, lawyers and academics, starting in the 1960s, have fallen into the habit of legislating or planning outcomes in defiance of the actual world: "Nondiscrimination became equal opportunity became affirmative action became goals became quotas became equality of outcomes." He does not say at which link he would have interrupted the chain. Mayer does argue that government's tasks are to "harness greed," to lay a deft hand on the economic system but never so heavily as to interfere with the basic logic of the marketplace. As for politics, Mayer says irritably, "I could not care less whether the government calls itself conservative or liberal or radical, Democratic, Republican, American, Socialist, Worker or Libertarian. If we can get the substance right, I can put up with almost any style." In a period of muddled political impulses, Mayer is a valuable man to listen to—a clear-eyed, irascible independent.

Lance Morrow

Medium Rare

THE HUNTING HYPOTHESIS: A PERSONAL CONCLUSION CONCERNING THE EVOLUTIONARY NATURE OF MAN
by ROBERT ARDREY

242 pages. Atheneum. \$10.

In his evolution from the proscenium arch of the playwright to the zygomatic arch of the popular anthropologist, Robert Ardrey, 63, has never lost his instinct for drama. *African Genesis, The Territorial Imperative and The Social Contract* swept through millions of years, the disappearance of continents and the draining of oceans. Entrances and exits involved crushes of phyla and species. The first ape man dropped from the trees to begin his long journey toward sapience.

Original Sin. Perhaps this approach is needed in an age when the universe is seen as a determinist switchboard and man keeps getting a recorded announcement saying the nirvana he has dialed is not a working nirvana. But a little bit of evolution as theater goes a long way. *The Hunting Hypothesis* is essentially a restaging of one of Ardrey's basic themes: "Man is man, and not a chimpanzee, because for millions upon millions of evolving years we killed for a living." It is a perfectly plausible statement but one that is likely to annoy those who prefer their original sin with re-



A COMPOSITE PAINTING OF A NEANDERTHAL
Direct descendants retaining "certain

ligion, and psychologists who hold that aggression is mainly learned, not instinctual. Ardrey carefully avoids the word instinct, preferring the suggestion that as direct descendants of Cro-Magnon hunters, we retain "certain human propensities for the chase."

Many of Ardrey's conclusions about man arise from his readings of recent primate studies. The chimpanzee, for example, turns out to be more than a mis-

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HUNTER SPEARING A REINDEER
human propensities for the chase."

chievous vegetarian. Bands of male chimps have been observed hunting small game, not primarily for food but for entertainment. One adult male was even seen eating its own young. Associating freely in the ethological record, Ardrey reasons that as long as primates remained treed, where food and safety were readily available, meat eating could be a sometime thing. He goes on to extrapolate that the earliest manlike

creature made its appearance in rather barren areas. Few or no trees meant foraging and hunting on the ground. With the passage of eons, the foot flattened, the leg and back straightened, and the chase was on.

Ice Age. Hunting, runs this hypothesis, laid down the foundations of human institutions: the development of weapons, cooperative action, the need to share food and the division of labor into hunting males and child-rearing females. The nonhunting female, Ardrey believes, contributed vitamins to the diet by foraging for plants. But it was man's bringing home the meat that provided the proteins needed for the evolution of complex nerve and brain cells.

Vegetarians and feminists will not be pleased. Neither will readers who, while granting Ardrey the run of his special territory, require more rigor with their speculation. He frequently exhibits what might be called the rhetorical imperative. For example: "Are the qualities that we regard as uniquely human the consequences of being human beings, or have we evolved as human beings because of the earlier evolution of qualities that we regard as uniquely human?" This need to impose a dramatic unity on unimaginable lengths of time can also lead to inconsistencies. Ardrey says at one point that science has failed to advance our knowledge of ourselves, and elsewhere discusses the value of car-

bon dating, molecular genetics and the study of coprolites—fossilized feces—in revealing our prehistoric past. He asserts that the fate of Neanderthal man is unknown, and two pages later says with equal certainty that Cro-Magnon man killed him off. Finally, he notes dolefully the prevalence of a current "doomsday attitude," yet closes with the specter of a new Ice Age that could end modern civilization.

A touch of apocalypticism is an appropriate conclusion to this idiosyncratic book. The accompanying nostalgia is something else. It is generally agreed that the human animal appears to have evolved because of hardship, not in spite of it, but Ardrey seems almost too wistful for the times when we survived by the skin of our fangs.

R.Z. Sheppard

Towering Trivia

THE PEOPLE'S ALMANAC

by DAVID WALLECHINSKY and

IRVING WALLACE

1,478 pages. Doubleday, \$7.95.

Novelist Irving Wallace and his son David Wallechinsky* justify this massive expenditure of paper and ink with forthright immodesty: "Where the familiar, standard almanacs leave off and

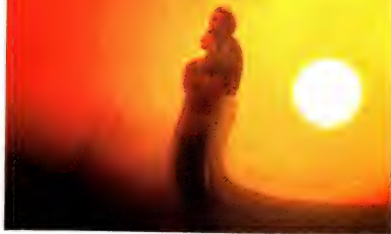
*Who resumed the original family name, changed when Wallace's immigrant father arrived at Ellis Island.

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BOOKS

stop—well, that's where *The People's Almanac* begins. They are incontestably correct. Among the items not to be found in standard almanacs but present here: summaries of every game played in the Little League World Series; a biography of Scrooge McDuck, Donald Duck's miserly uncle; pop psychohistories of selected U.S. Presidents, including Truman ("Harry was a 'mama's boy'"); 16 pages of fact and gossip about the Academy Awards; Eartha Kitt's idea of utopia and a summary of W.C. Fields' will, which left his mistress \$25,000, two bottles of perfume, a Cadillac and a dictionary.

Seekers of such argument-settlers as the population of American cities or the gross national product will not find them in *The People's Almanac*. But the book is a trove for trivia freaks who wake in the middle of the night with a craving to list "15 renowned redheads" (e.g., Thomas Jefferson, Lucille Ball) or the "nine breeds of dog that bite the most" (among them: German shepherd, chow-chow, poodle) or the site of the annual watermelon seed-spitting contest (Paul's Valley, Okla.). Those addicted to the filler material at the bottom of newspaper columns will find an attic's worth of yellowing snippets ("If you had spent \$1,000 a day every day since Christ was born, you would not have spent \$1 billion").

Containing over 1 million words, 250,000 words more than in the Bible, the book is both massively silly and regularly entertaining. With its jumbling of serendipitous facts and legends, crackpot theories, gossip and lunacies through the ages, *The People's Almanac* resembles nothing so much as an inspired collaboration between Benjamin Franklin and Rona Barrett.

Paul Gray

Best Sellers

FICTION

- 1—Curtain, Christie (1 last week)
- 2—The Choirboys, Wambaugh (2)
- 3—Ragtime, Doctorow (3)
- 4—Saving the Queen, Buckley (6)
- 5—In the Beginning, Potok (5)
- 6—The Greek Treasure, Stone (4)
- 7—Nightwork, Shaw (7)
- 8—Audrey Rose, Defalitto (9)
- 9—The Gemini Contenders, Ludlum (8)
- 10—The Swiss Account, Waller

NONFICTION

- 1—Doris Day, Hatchner (2)
- 2—The Relaxation Response, Benson with Klipper (1)
- 3—Bring On the Empty Horses, Niven (3)
- 4—World of Our Fathers, Howe (4)
- 5—Winning Through Intimidation, Ringer (5)
- 6—The Russians, Smith (6)
- 7—The People's Almanac, Wallechinsky & Wallace (9)
- 8—Angels, Graham (8)
- 9—The Adams Chronicles, Shepherd (10)
- 10—Spandau, Speer

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Murder by Contract

I WILL, I WILL... FOR NOW

Directed by NORMAN PANAMA

Screenplay by NORMAN PANAMA and ALBERT E. LEWIN

Much laughter, many cheers and at least one low wolf whistle for Diane Keaton, who looks like the brightest light comedienne in movies. She brings nicely scrambled wit and bushwacked sex appeal to even the lowliest undertakings.

I Will, I Will... For Now is about as low as they come, and Miss Keaton must work hard at playing a neurotic contemporary woman trying to reconcile with her husband (Elliott Gould). Divorced, but unhappy about it, Keaton and Gould attempt a trial reconciliation.



DIANE KEATON in *I WILL*
Bushwacked appeal.

ation, a marriage by contract. "Living with her is like living with a Lysol commercial," grouches Gould to the family lawyer (Paul Sorvino), who has been enjoying a weekly liaison with Keaton. The lawyer would like to marry her himself, and makes the terms of the marriage contract so tough that he figures the relationship will not last even the prescribed six months.

Even at the best of times the marriage was shaky. Gould, naturally, is a beer-guzzling, girl-chasing, hard-betting slob, and rich to the bargain. Keaton is bright, hung up, a little tentative about sex, a maniac about keeping the house in order. Once, Gould claims, he got up to go to the bathroom at night and came back to find that she had made the bed. The movie is similarly witless throughout. There are many attempted jokes about marriage counselors, institutes for sexual behavior and breasts. Norman

TIME, MARCH 15, 1976

Panama directs with the sort of visual flair usually found only on late-night television commercials for Connie Francis records.

Miss Keaton does not so much rise above all this as defy it. Looking a little like the White Rock girl with a degree from Sarah Lawrence, Keaton coaxes and braves her way through her role. At one point, she must remark of the floozy upstairs, who sports low necklines and is bedeviled by brown supermarket bags that disintegrate from below. "Oh, her cantaloupes are always falling out." Keaton pays so little mind to the awkwardness of the line, to its prewashed vulgarity, that she makes it charming. Talent like that goes beyond skill, it is a kind of bonkers genius. *Jay Cocks*

Havana Bound

WAITING FOR FIDEL

Directed by MICHAEL RUBBO

This eccentric, evocative film is less a documentary than a cinematic diary. Two men travel to Cuba. One, named Jeff Sterling, is a wealthy businessman who has made a killing in communications, specifically in television. The other is the former Prime Minister of Newfoundland, Joseph R. Smallwood, older than Sterling by at least a couple of decades, a dedicated Socialist. For Smallwood, the trip is practically a pilgrimage; for Sterling, it is a curiosity and a challenge. While Smallwood admires Cuban schools, medical care and housing programs, Sterling grouches about forced labor and compares socialism unfavorably with the free-enterprise system. "One of the great things we have," he insists, "is a sense of humor."

Director Michael Rubbo has one too, low-keyed but keen and honest. He accompanied Sterling and Smallwood, waited with them in Protocol Residence No. 9 (identified as "the former residence of an American textile tycoon") for the greatest event of the trip to happen: an audience with the Premier himself. Sterling and Smallwood had been promised some time with Fidel, perhaps even a whole day. Smallwood prepares yellow pads full of questions for Castro. Sterling stays looser, anticipates the meeting less as an ideological confrontation than as a social coup.

The audience, however, never comes. A sympathetic translator takes the party on tours of the island. Sterling, feeling slighted, takes his anger out on Rubbo, accuses him of shooting too much film. Smallwood, ever optimistic, gets invited to a diplomatic reception, where he receives a bear hug and sympathy from Fidel, who cannot spare more attention than that. His time is consumed by a visiting dignitary from East Germany. If Rubbo were less tact-

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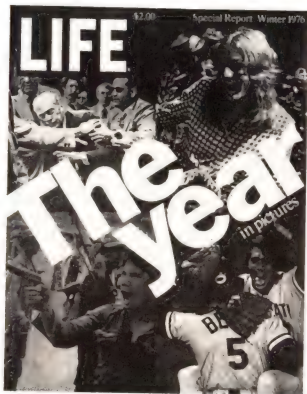
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ful and intelligent. *Waiting for Fidel* might just be the movie equivalent of the journalist's last refuge, the trusty How-I-Didn't-Get-the-Story story. What most interests Rubbo, however, are conversations at cross-purposes and dashed dreams. *Waiting for Fidel* is so successful on its own terms that, had the Premier ever showed up, he would probably have wrecked the movie. J.C.

An Actor Despairs

SALUT L'ARTISTE

Directed by YVES ROBERT

Screenplay by JEAN-LOUP DABADIE and YVES ROBERT

This movie is slight enough to get blown away by an early spring breeze. Sort of funny, kind of sad, *Salut l'Artiste* is a halfway exercise in depicting the addled, smoothly desperate life of an actor named Nicholas. His face, in passing, is familiar, but ask for his autograph and the name will not register. Nicholas makes his living doing day work in movies, character bits in commercials and specialty acts at small clubs. It is a hard scuffle, but Nicholas dotes on the comfortable insecurity of the life. At least it offers a neat opportunity to fend off deeper involvement with his mistress Peggy (Françoise Fabian) and keeps an eventual reconciliation with his wife (Carla Gravina) at a safe distance. Nicholas' only deep commitment is to the dubious luxury of non-involvement.

Bemused Talents. Besides the quite ravishing Miss Fabian, the movie can boast the presence of Marcello Mastroianni as Nicholas. He is not seen in major movies as widely as he used to be, so *Salut l'Artiste* is, if nothing else, a wholly welcome reminder of just how extraordinary an actor he can be. It would seem folly to cast Mastroianni as a nonentity were it not for his wonderfully bemused talents for self-effacement. Many of his best performances (8½, say, or *The Organizer*) have challenged and contradicted the popular notion of him as a kind of languid Lothario. Director Yves Robert makes no heavy demands of Mastroianni here, which is unfortunate. Nicholas' infrequent bouts with despair are as frivolous as anything else in his life, but Mastroianni has worked enough by now to know about making major moments out of minor incidents. There is at least one such here. Split with his girl friend, his wife and sons away on unannounced holiday, Nicholas shacks up with his co-star in a new play. As she prattles on in bed, telling endless postcoital anecdotes about her grandmother, Mastroianni stares straight ahead, bereft, bored, glazed, luckless, irked, satisfied but uncompelled, playing dearly now for his pleasure. It is a scene Mastroianni manages with the kind of comic melancholy that comes from depths too seldom sounded. J.C.

TIME, MARCH 15, 1976

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29 reasons why a Mercury Marquis was judged superior overall to an Olds 98 and a Buick Electra.

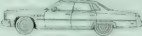
Based on tests you can do yourself,
37 out of 50 car owners picked a Marquis over a Buick, 40 out of 50 over an Olds.



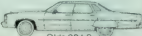
Last fall, Nationwide Consumer Testing Institute formed a panel of 100 randomly selected men from the Los Angeles area—all owners of standard-size cars—and asked them to compare a 1976 Mercury Marquis Brougham with 76 models of its leading competitors, Buick Electra 225 or Olds 98 LS.



Mercury Marquis
Length 229 0" Weight 4704 lb
Engine 460 CID



Buick Electra 225
Length 233 4" Weight 4788 lb
Engine 455 CID



Olds 98 LS
Length 232 2" Weight 4786 lb
Engine 455 CID

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They judged each car's styling. Front, rear and sides. They studied instrument panels, door trim and seating. In every test of styling, they judged Marquis superior.

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They operated window controls, door handles and locks, interior lights and the parking brake. They loaded the trunk with luggage. In tests like these, they found more convenience built into Marquis.

They drove and rode in the cars to evaluate smoothness, quietness, cornering ability and control. In all tests of handling and driving comfort, Marquis won hands down. Based on all these tests, they rated Marquis superior overall.

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Test Program	Number Preferring		Number Preferring	
	Marquis	Buick	Marquis	Olds
Styling Features				
1 Overall styling	38	12	38	12
2 Front end styling	36	14	32	18
3 Side view styling	33	17	31	19
4 Rear end styling	28	22	33	17
5 Interior styling	37	13	44	6
Ride				
6 Riding comfort	34	16	37	13
7 Handwriting on rough road	31	19	31	19
8 Quietness	40	10	43	7
Handling				
9 Overall driving ease	32	18	33	17
10 Cornering ability	31	19	33	17
11 Right front visibility	34	16	35	15
12 Parking brake	39	11	43	7
13 Windshield washer	34	16	36	14
Quality features				
14 Solidity built	47	3	46	4
15 Carpeting thickness/softness	45	5	41	9
16 Headliner padding	33	17	35	15
17 Sun visor	34	16	39	11
18 Stereo performance	40	10	45	5
Convenience				
19 Spacious/convenient trunk	39	11	38	12
20 Tilt steering wheel operation	19	31	28	22
21 Glove compartment capacity	47	3	47	3
22 Rear window convenience	45	5	50	0
23 Door handle operation	44	6	44	6
24 Comfort/practical front center arm rests	34	16	41	9
25 Ash tray accessibility	36	14	42	8
26 Assist straps convenience	28	22	40	10
27 Key design	44	6	46	4
28 Window/door lock operation	37	13	37	13
29 Interior lighting	47	3	48	2
Superior overall	37	13	40	10

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COMEDIAN ALAN KING

The Bloomie's of Academe

Actress Diana Rigg mesmerized students at Manhattan's New School for Social Research last semester with her comments about the pitfalls of performing in the nude. Said she: "I used to make my body up because otherwise you look like a piece of old cod under the stage lights." Magician Doug Henning demonstrated scarf tricks and philosophized on how magic led him to the study of Zen. NBC newscaster Tom Snyder arrived for class with two mobile vans and a crew of 65. He then televised all the students on the *Tomorrow* show.

These classroom antics, all part of two seminars involving the performing arts, are par for the courses at the New School, where the curriculum more closely reflects the thinking of Phineas T. Barnum than that of James B. Conant. Humorist Lily Tomlin recently stood on her head to refresh herself while teaching a class on satire. John Lennon will be the guest lecturer this week in a course called Making It in Rock. The *New School Bulletin*, a catalogue that might be better titled *The Best of Club Med and Esalen East*, routinely offers courses like Psycho-karate, Body Language, French in Guadalupe and the Sensuous Experience of Dining.

One reason for the New School's trendy curriculum is that the school is the only degree-granting institution in the nation devoted primarily to the education of adults. Only 4,500 of the 21,000 students at the school are studying for credit; most of these are enrolled in its highly regarded graduate program, or in its affiliate, the Parsons School of Design. The typical New School student is a middle-aged professional or a housewife who is simply eager to learn something new—and willing to pay an average of \$100 per course for the opportunity. Enrollment has more than doubled in the past decade, and the school opened a new branch last month in suburban Westchester.

The spirit of innovation at the New School goes back to 1919, when

Economist Thorstein Veblen, Historian Charles Beard and Philosopher John Dewey founded it in a few Manhattan brownstones. Their aim: enlivening traditional learning. From the start, they succeeded. In the 1920s, the school offered the first college-level courses on black culture, taught by W.E.B. DuBois; in the '30s Martha Graham taught pioneering classes in modern dance.

Spotting Trends. Today, the school—now ensconced in modern brick and glass buildings in Greenwich Village—sticks closely to a strategic formula for success. Explains President John Everett, 57, a former chancellor of the City University of New York: "Other schools have professors who have never been in politics teaching political science. We want the person who has been a politician." Hence, faculty members—most of whom are part-time and untenured—tend to be well-known personalities in the metropolitan area. New York City Consumer Affairs Expert Elinor Gugenheimer teaches a course on the consumer and the marketplace; *Village Voice* Writer Nat Hentoff presides over a course in investigative reporting. Comedian Alan King, who got his start in New York clubs, has lectured on the origins of ethnic humor. Other New York personalities who have taught at the New School: Senator Jacob Javits, Broadway Producer Joseph Papp, former Mayor John Lindsay and Comedian Woody Allen.

The New School prides itself on its quickness to spot trends. When Watergate broke out, officials cobbled together a Crisis in Government course taught by Eugene McCarthy and Law Professors Raoul Berger and Philip Kurland. The Boris Spassky-Bobby Fischer match in 1972 prompted a sellout course on chess strategy. Says Allen Austill, dean of the school: "It's education in the marketplace. We can jump at things that look good. If they fade, they fade."

Many do, prompting some educators to criticize the New School as the

Bloomie's of academe—an institution run more on fads than serious study. Still, the New School is flourishing, while many private colleges are struggling to keep afloat. In fact, Temple University recently set up a Center City program copied directly from the New School; at New York University, the University of California and other schools, lively adult education programs based on the New School model are also in full swing. Says Clark Kerr, chairman of the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education: "The New School is unique. It has made a special contribution to the intellectual life of the nation." The school intends to keep at it. Next year it will add exotic new courses in 300 Edible Fruits and Vegetables Growing in New York City, American Indian and Eskimo Religion, and Prehistoric Art: Art on the Rocks.

Defiance on Trial

Six months after court-ordered busing went into effect in Louisville and the surrounding areas of Jefferson County (TIME, Sept. 15), more than 2,000 of the 129,000 children scheduled to attend public school in the district are still staying away from classes. Now local officials are moving to force recalcitrant parents into line. This week the first boycotting parents to go on trial before a jury will appear in a special court created last November. The charge: contributing to the truancy of their children. Says Juvenile Court Prosecutor Frank Burke Jr.: "We'll have more than 1,000 cases before it's all over."

The ruling that jury trials be held came after Special Juvenile Judge Joseph Ray, hearing a case without a jury, convicted a white suburban couple, Mr. and Mrs. Emmitt Durham, and sentenced them to a year in jail for not allowing their son Alfred, 12, to be bused to a Louisville school. The Durhams are appealing the verdict to a circuit court and demanding a trial by jury.

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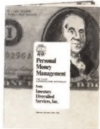
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